This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

ANDOVER-HARVARD LIBRARY
AH 6N13 H

~~CP.145.86~~
KE974

Bd. Dec., 1882.

The Gift of the Editor.

5 Jan. – 23 Sept., 1882.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY

AND

GENERAL REVIEW.

THOMAS B. THAYER, D.D., Editor

NEW SERIES.—VOLUME XIX.

BOSTON:
UNIVERSALIST PUBLISHING HOUSE.
1882.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS.

Page.

ART. I. THE DEMONOLOGY OF JESUS 5
By Rev. D. M. Hodge.

ART. II. THE ESCHATOLOGY OF ST. PAUL..... 14
By Rev. S. S. Hebberd.

ART. III. THEORIES OF SKEPTICSM: NECESSITY IN PHILOSOPHY — FATALISM IN SCIENCE..... 33
By Wm. Tucker, D.D.

ART. IV. THE SIN AGAINST THE HOLY GHOST — CONCLUDED FROM APRIL NUMBER OF 1881 45
By T. J. Sawyer, D.D., Dean of Tufts Divinity School.

ART. V. THE ATOMIC THEORY: THE PSYCHICAL BASIS OF PHYSICS..... 73
By G. H. Emerson, D.D.

ART. VI. SCIENCE AND RELIGION..... 84
By Orello Cone, D. D., President of Buchtel College.

ART. VII. A PROPHET..... 92
By Rev. I. C. Knowlton.

ART. VIII. THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH TOWARDS SKEPTICISM... 133
By I. M. Atwood, D.D.

ART. IX. MRS. JUDITH MURRAY..... 140
By Rev. Richard Eddy.

ART. X. ORIGIN AN INDICATION OF DESTINY..... 152
By Rev. R. P. Ambler.

ART. XI. CLASSICAL STUDIES..... 162
By Prof. Wm. D. Shipman, Buchtel College.

ART. XII. IRELAND..... 173
By G. H. Emerson, D.D.

ART. XIII. USE OF THE GREEK VERB *Μέλλω*, BY THE SACRED WRITERS..... 192
By O. D. Miller, D.D.

Digitized by Google

Page.

ART. XIV. THE CATACOMBS OF ROME: THEIR HISTORY AND USES..... 210
By Rev. A. B. Grosh.

ART. XV. ST. THOMAS AQUINAS AND THE FUTURE LIFE..... 261
By Rev. S. S. Hebberd.

ART. XVI. THE DIVINE RESPONSIBILITY..... 279
By Rev. C. W. Biddle.

ART. XVII. THEORIES OF SKEPTICISM — ATHEISM... 285
By Wm. Tucker, D.D.

ART. XIX. HUMAN DESTINY A VITAL QUESTION.... 299
By Rev. Varnum Lincoln.

ART. XX. THE PURITANS AND THE QUAKERS..... 311
By Leo R. Lewis.

ART. XXI. THE RESTORATION OF HUMANITY..... 328
By Rev. G. M. Harmon.

ART. XXII. "THE CELESTIAL EARTH" OF THE ANCIENTS..... 339
By Rev. O. D. Miller.

ART. XXIII. THE CATACOMBS OF ROME: THE PERVADING SPIRIT OF THEIR TEACHINGS..... 389
By Rev. A. B Grosh.

ART. XXIV. CRITIGAL AND EXEGETICAL NOTES, ON CERTAIN CONTROVERTED TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE..... 401
By O. D. Miller, D.D.

ART. XXV. LITERARY REMAINS OF EMANUEL DEUTSCH..... 415
By Chaplain G. Collins, U. S. A.

ART. XXVI. THEORIES OF SKEPTICISM — PANTHEISM 427
By Rev. Wm. Tucker.

ART. XXVII. THE CONTINENT OF ATLANTIS..... 436
By Rev. J. P. McLean.

ART. XXVIII. THE UNIVERSALIST ORIGIN OF AMERICAN SUNDAY SCHOOLS..... 448
By Rev. Richard Eddy.

ART. XXIX. ETERNAL REGRET..... 460
By Rev. Stephen Crane.

ART. XXX. OTHER WORLD ORDER..... 469
By G. T. Flanders, D. D.

GENERAL REVIEW.....100, 229, 357, 487

Digitized by Google

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY—IN JANUARY, APRIL, JULY, AND OCTOBER.
Terms—$3.00 per year—in advance.

THE

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY.

JAN 5 1882

CAMBRIDGE HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY MASS.

JANUARY, 1882.

THOMAS B. THAYER, D.D., EDITOR.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

ART. I. THE DEMONOLOGY OF JESUS, ... 5
Rev. D. M Hodge.

ART. II. THE ESCHATOLOGY OF ST. PAUL, ... 14
Rev. S S. Hebberd.

ART. III. THEORIES OF SKEPTICISM; NECESSITY IN PHILOSOPHY — FATALISM IN SCIENCE, . . . 33
Wm. Tucker, D.D.

ART. IV. THE SIN AGAINST THE HOLY GHOST — CONCLUDED FROM APRIL NUMBER OF 1881, . . . 45
T. J. Sawyer, D.D., Dean of Tufts Divinity School.

ART. V. THE ATOMIC THEORY: THE PSYCHICAL BASIS OF PHYSICS, ... 73
G H. Emerson, D.D.

ART. VI. SCIENCE AND RELIGION, ... 84
Orello Cone, D.D., President of Buchtel College.

ART. VII. A PROPHET, ... 92
Rev. I. C. Knowlton.

GENERAL REVIEW, ... 100
"Mercy and Judgment"—Swedenborg and Universalism — Primeval Man — Mind? or Nerves?

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE. 122
Harpers' Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Cyclopædia — Phillips Brooks' Candle of the Lord — Young's Sun — Appleton's World of Wonders — Garfield's Words — Phelps' Theory of Preaching — International Revision Commentary on the New Testament — Leslie's Man's Origin and Destiny — Adam's Talks about the Bible — Merrill's East of the Jordan — Half-Hours with Greek and Latin Authors — Cellerier's Biblical Hermeneutics — Whedon's Commentary; *Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Solomon* — Mrs. Browning's "He Giveth His Beloved Sleep," Illustrated — Mrs. Hanson's Our Woman Workers. *Book Notes* on Dr. Stebbins's A Study of the Pentateuch, &c.

BOSTON:
UNIVERSALIST PUBLISHING HOUSE,
16 BROMFIELD STREET.

Entered as Second Class Mail Matter.

Digitized by Google

NEW EDITION.

"THE CREATION

AND THE

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS OF SOCIETY."

By J. H. CHAPIN, Ph,D.

CONTENTS.

1. Primeval Chaos.—2. Light.—3. The Firmament.—4. Plant Life.—5. Animal Life.—6. Reading the Record in the Rocks.—7. Man.—8. Beginning of Civilization, Cain and Abel.—9. Failure of Primeval Society, the Deluge.—10. Diversity of Tongues, Tower of Babel.—11. Antiquity of Man.—12. Ancient Civilization.

WHAT IS SAID OF IT.

"This work, for the general reader, is the best we have ever read. It treats of the creation of the universe in a common-sense manner, and in language which can be understood by the reading public. The book is an excellent one—a valuable contribution to the literature of the world."—*Ann Harbor Courier.*

"The writer deals with two questions that for some years past have excited wide-spread discussion in theological and scientific circles. He treats them with great fairness, and with a clearness and simplicity of style most refreshing and commendable. While not agreeing with the author *in toto*, we can yet, as a whole, heartily commend the work as a conclusive answer to much of the skepticism of the day. His facts have been gathered with care and industry, and his theories are neither notions nor vagaries. His book is excellent. We trust it may find many readers."—*Episcopal Register*, (*Baltimore*).

"I have lately read every word of this book, and to some chapters I have given a second reading, and I am glad to make record in this public way of my gratitude to the author. It seems to me to be a book much needed by that large class of people, of which I am one, who make no specialty of science, but who aspire to keep pace with the latest conclusions of the wise ones in matters of this sort. The author makes it appear that the whole plan and process are theistic, and hence he has made a contribution to faith as well as to knowledge. The three chapters, 'The Vegetable Kingdom,' 'Animal Life,' and 'Reading the Geological Record,' share all the interest of a romance, and more here than elsewhere the muse seems to have descended on the writer. But all through the book the style is fresh and pleasing. There is no confusion in the thought of the author, and so there can be none in the mind of the reader. This gives to the work a special value to the general reader, and fits it for the ordinary fireside."—REV. DR. ELLIS, *Cincinnati.*

"This book is a careful scientific review of the consecutive process of the creation, from the beginning to the appearance of man upon the earth. The subject of course is not new, but is very ably and interestingly treated."—*Boston Transcript.*

"The treatment is fresh, vigorous, clear and rational."—*Star and Covenant*, (*Chicago*).

Price, $1.75 postage paid. For sale by

UNIVERSALIST PUBLISHING HOUSE.

Digitized by Google

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY

AND

GENERAL REVIEW.

ARTICLE I.

The Demonology of Jesus.

DID Jesus believe in demons? If so, does not the authority and the divine enlightenment we ascribe to him require us to believe in them? Are we not to credit his testimony? If he did not believe in them, how are we to explain that complete system of demonology which may fairly be deduced from his reported words? In answer to these questions, we have the following hypotheses ready made, and held, each by considerable numbers of religious people as parts of their Christian belief or faith.

1. Jesus did believe in a world of evil spirits. They were powers of the air. They had their demon prince or ruler. They were opponents of his cause and mission. They, with their prince, as well as evil men, were all subject to the government of Satan, the adversary supreme over all the powers and realms of evil. The testimony of Jesus must be received. We are required by our own belief in him, in his supernatural knowledge and authority, to believe not only in Satan, the supreme monarch of the whole vast empire of evil, but in a principality of invisible evil spirits, inhabiting the air, or taking possession of the minds and bodies of men.

Digitized by Google

The fact that demoniacal possession appears to have been more frequent in the time of Jesus than at present is to be accounted for by supposing that the earthly life of Jesus was a battle waged against, not only the visible forms of evil of our earth and human life, but the invisible powers of darkness. It precipitated a conflict, brought about a crisis and excited the demon world as it had never been excited before, nor has been excited since. The demons did their worst. They exerted all their powers. They knew Jesus as the Son of God and knew that the sublime forces of goodness and truth had culminated in him; that the critical moment of all eternity had come. We do not, therefore, understand the completeness of Christ's victory, until we conceive of the demon-world, with all its unseen hosts, submitting, baffled, defeated, subjugated to the Lord.

II. Jesus did not believe in demons. He knew that the belief of his people was a superstition and a mistake. To attempt to uproot this belief would, however, have diverted him from the more practical and pressing purposes of his mission. It would have made the break between him and his people too sudden and entire. It would have aroused needless prejudice and antagonism and would have led to interminable and fruitless controversy, over a question only secondary in its importance. Jesus therefore, consciously accommodated his language to the superstition of his people. He spoke of Satan when he meant only the tempting of evil or ambition. He addressed his speech to imaginary but unreal demons, while he knew and realized that he was dealing only with insanity or epilepsy. He spoke of the prince of this world and the judgment of this world, meaning only to personify evil and worldiness and to indicate that the time had come when good and evil, as abstract and general principles, were to be matched against each other for decisive conflict; aware, however, that he would be understood to allude to real personages and a struggle against evil spirits. In short, according to this hypothesis, Jesus seriously thought of the demoniacal powers as abstract, impersonal, but to ac-

Digitized by Google

commodate himself to the superstition of the people, he spoke of them as localized and personal.

III. Jesus believed in the demons, but the belief was a superstition and delusion and we need not share it now. Jesus believed it because it was general in his time, among his countrymen, and he had imbibed it with his early Jewish education. It was a part of the theological system; of the practical, everyday philosophy of his people. It had entered into their common thought and daily life. Jesus, the product of his time, the creation of history and circumstances, shared this belief with them. But this theological system has passed oway. The philosophy and thought of daily life have changed. Our mental equipment has been wrought out of a different history and by different circumstances. We cannot, therefore, hold these superstitious beliefs of the past, and cannot, if we would, accept them on the authority of Jesus.

Of these three hypotheses, the first may be called the orthodox, the second the Universalist and Unitarian, and the third the rationalistic theory. It must be understood that these designations are quite general and admit of exceptions and modifications. Broadly however, and with sufficient exactness for our purpose, we have indicated the general beliefs upon this subject held respectively by orthodox, by liberal, and by rationalistic teachers.

With no one of these theories are we satisfied. To the first we must raise the objection that it is too entirely detached from and opposed to our modern philosophy of life, and our real, practical faith. The hypothesis is seriously damaged by our scientific knowledge of disease. We are no longer under the necessity of attributing insanity or epilepsy to demoniacal possession, for we know something of the physical conditions which cause them. We know, at least, that the conditions are physical, or at most physical and psychological and not pneumatological. We have no difficulty in classing demonomania as a branch of human pathology; a diseased state arising from morbific causes which can be as-

Digitized by Google

certained and accounted for without any consideration of supernatural or demoniacal agency. According to the philosophy and the practice of our time, too, man is held personally responsible for his own moral delinquency, as originating primarily in himself and not in evil spirits which subvert and subjugate and possess him. Evil is held to be the result, either of the depravity or the imperfectness of man's nature, and not the result of the play of supernatural evil powers upon his unprotected personality. They who hold to the possibility of possession by demons, therefore, must hold a theological belief or doctrine, detached from and inconsistent with the common philosophy and practise of life. The system of belief of which demonism forms a consistent part has passed out of human thought. Demonism may survive on the strength of the supposed authority of Jesus, but it has had the ground cut away from under it by the science of pathology and must eventually perish from human belief and thought. If then, it be contended that we have yet to account for a belief in demons on the part of Jesus, we suggest that this raises the third, or rationalistic hypothesis which we will consider further on.

Our objection to the second hypothesis is that it cannot be stated without implying conscious and deliberate deception on the part of Jesus; that such deception was, at least in many cases, obviously unnecessary and always inconsistent with his character. Take, for example, the account given us of the temptation in the wilderness. We presume it will be admitted on all sides that the story given us by the Evangelists is substantially the report of Jesus. We know the mystery of the forty days experience only from himself. There was no human eye witness on the scene. Further, the narrative is unmistakeably after the manner of Jesus. The reporter is the same who said to Peter, "Simon, Simon, behold, Satan asked to have you that he might sift you as wheat."

If the temptation of the desert was distinctly recognized by Jesus at the time as arising from within himself, as subjective, the suggestion of human ambition, or of any other human

Digitized by Google

motive, it was certainly deceptive to say, "the devil said thus and this was my answer to him," constructing a dialogue of some length, having the definiteness and precision of an actual conversation between two persons occupying different points of view, and urging a case each against the other. Jesus must have known that none of his listeners were likely to get the idea from his report that the tempter was subjective and impersonal, a motive of his own. Moreover such deception would have been gratuitous. We can think of no reason for it. Jesus takes the initiative himself and tells the story in his own way. Why bring in Satan at all? We have the right to demand of a witness that he shall tell us his own perception, his own knowledge, his own impression. He is to represent occurrences exactly as they appeared to him. He is to be eyes and ears for us. He is to show us just how his own consciousness was affected at the time. He is not entitled to take liberties. They destroy his credibility as a witness.

We are unwilling to rest upon any hypothesis which makes Jesus other than faithful and conscientious as a witness. Here we are on sure ground. Deceit, we know, was not in him. The theory that Jesus did not believe in demons, but used language intended to convey a false impression; consciously accommodated his speech to the superstition of his hearers, therefore, does not give us satisfaction. However, it may be stated, it implies deception at some point. We should not care to press this point if it could be maintained that only to the "possessed," did Jesus thus intentionally accommodate his language. We should then think the deception of the man in his wrong mind, the needful way of undeceiving him in regard to the presence of demons. But this is not the case. The subject of demoniacal possession is needlessly referred to. Jesus mentioned it without any apparent provocation or incentive.[1]

He addresses himself in the language of belief in demons to one who was deaf and could not have been influenced by the form of rebuke employed.[2]

[1] Matt. xii. 43. [2] Mark ix. 25.

Digitized by Google

In one instance a father comes, calling his son epileptic and detailing symptoms which confirm his diagnosis. The disease here is not mental, but wholly physical, bodily. It is not mania, but sickness. In healing it Jesus uses the language of exorcism, just the same, and the case is afterward spoken of in away which implies belief that it was demoniacal, without protest on the part of Jesus.[3] The devil, or Satan, is brought into human affairs by the thought and language of Jesus, with a frequency which is surprising and in a manner which is unpleasant and vulgar according to the usage and thought of our times.[4]

This is not the language of accommodation, which would be used only in a case of emergency, and incidental to the truth beyond itself. It appears to be the language of one who spoke right out according to his own impression without deliberate and arbitrary translation or adaptation.

We object further to this hypothesis, that it makes Jesus too independant of the common thought and influences of his time; too unimpressible and unnatural. It makes his humanness, as do some other theological theories and conceptions, unreal, artificial, spurious. This accommodation-theory according to which Jesus holds the modern notion of possession, but interposes a process of transmutation, translation, or adaptation between his own thought and the minds of his hearers, involves an assumption of insincerity, of unnatural relations between the master and his pupils, which we do not find sustained in any other part of the Gospels. Such a process must have been inconvenient, suspicious, and destructive of spontaneity and open heartedness on the part of Jesus.

We may seem to have left to us only the rationalistic hypothesis, that Jesus as the product of his age, his history and circumstances, held the belief of his people in regard to demoniacal possession; that he had not a suspicion that the common thought and sentiment of his people did not represent

[3] Matt. xvii. 14—20.

[4] Matt. xiii. 39. xxv, 41. Luke viii. 12. John vi. 70. viii. 44. Luke x. 18. xii 16. xxii. 31, etc.

Digitized by Google

the absolute truth in respect to evil spirits: that he was sincere, but in error.

We cannot be satisfied with this theory. A man deluded by the education, carried away by the superstitions of his country and his age is not the Jesus of the four Gospels; not the grand, historic personage whose life is wrought into all that is highest and best in our modern civilization, its creative impulse and its vivifying spirit. He is not the man, whose genius and originality and fertility of mind and freedom from conventional ideas, even if we exclude all divine direction and supernatural enlightenment, have made him the Founder, at least, of a new and great religion. The real greatness of Jesus overleaps the limits of this hypothesis. Because of the devout tendency of his mind he was more likely to be carried away, if at all, by the traditions of the Pharisees, with zeal for the priesthood and the sacrifices, than by the superstition of demoniacal possession. In error in respect to demons, he may have been equally in error in regard to the character and purpose and will of God.

No, this supposition does not fit itself to what we know of Jesus. With what clear vision, with what accurate perception and statement he foretold not only the death at Jerusalem, but the impulse which would be given to the divine kingdom through that death and a resurrection! So far beyond the thought and belief of men in this, is he subverted by them in his conception of evil?

That conception, be it observed, is the modern, rather than the Jewish one. Man's sinfulness results from his imperfection,[5] from his blindness,[6] or ignorance,[7] his distorted vision,[8] rather than the play upon him of unseen powers of evil. He is to become perfect, to be full of light, to see with his eyes and hear with his ears, to seek the kingdom of God and his righteousness, rather than to secure himself by incantation or ceremony, or resistance of will against the incursion of demons.

[5] Matt. v. 48. [6] xv. 14. xxiii. 16. [7] Luke xxiii. 34.
[8] Matt. vi. 22. 23. xviii. 9. See also the entire passage Matt. xiii. 13—16.

Digitized by Google

Possession, on the other hand, is spoken of as disease, without protest, and becomes only an occasion for "healing." It is epilepsy, it is infirmity[9] it is muteness,[10] deafness,[11] stammering.[12] The moral system of Jesus is complete without it, and does not in any way involve it.

We believe the true solution of the problem to be the recognition of the extent to which a prevalent system of thought, a mode of speech universal within its limits, a conception to which one has been accustomed from his youth, may impress the mind, color the very thought, and haunt the consciousness of a man, without subverting him. The conception of evil on the part of Jesus being what we have seen it to be, it must nevertheless have risen frequently before his mind in the forms and words which the popular belief so copiously supplied. Such a presentation must have been, not only natural, but if the humanness of Jesus be genuine, inevitable. Whatever the inspiration, or the supernatural enlightenment of men, it has always both presented and expressed itself with local coloring and with human qualification. A chosen race inspired with a passion for righteousness, could think of that righteousness only under the forms of sacrifice and ceremonial cleanness. Such was the influence of their age and such the tendency inevitable to the stage of civilization they had reached.

We do not accept the philosophy of Plato; we know very well that the affections are not the products of cardiac activity; that the heart is not the seat of the emotions; yet we find this Platonic conception not only furnishing us a convenient form of speech, but presenting itself to our thought, so that there is no conscious accommodation in our language in speaking of a "large hearted man."

The case is much stronger when we suppose Jesus impressed by a popular belief not antiquated, but in the very height of its activity and power.

The case of Martin Luther is different from that of Jesus,

[9] Luke xiii. 11—16. [10] Mark ix. 25. [11] Ibid. [12] Mark vii. 32.

Digitized by Google

if we suppose Luther's belief in a personal devil rising into objectivity before him and presenting him with the illusion against which he hurled his inkstand. Luther believed in the personality of Satan and his senses were deceived. But the case of Jesus is more simple, probable and rational. He was not a believer in the personality of evil, and there was no deception of the senses. The objectivity given to Satan in the temptation scene was not illusory. Jesus was not misled. And yet it was natural and involuntary. The subjective passed into the mental objective without an effort of the will. Jesus did not therefore, consciously accommodate his description of the event to the theories of his hearers. He acted the part of a faithful and conscientious witness. He told the story of the struggle as it had presented itself to him; as it had risen before his consciousness, and had impressed his mind. He was a witness who took no liberties, not even that of subsequent revision and explanation.

Again when Jesus said to the seventy just returned with their encouraging report of their missionary tour, "I saw Satan as lightning falling from heaven," he was a true reporter. Involuntarily, opposition to the kingdom of God pictured itself before him as the resistance of evil spirits of the air to the kingdom invisible and spiritual. He did not translate his thought of a successful winning of his people, into this extravagant language. In constant, daily intercourse with men who attributed disease and blindness and mania and opposition to the malignity of evil spirits, the picture of Satan falling arose in his mind spontaneously and inevitably. So when the anxious father besought him in behalf of his epileptic son, the picture presented to his mind was not that which would be presented to the mind of a physician of our day. He did not see before him the medulla oblongata at the base of the brain in a condition of exaggerated excitability; he saw presented to his mind the work of an evil spirit. In this form it presented itself, but to this representation, except as a mode of involuntary mental conception, he was not committed. Neither the senses, nor the mind of Jesus can be

Digitized by Google

said to have been deceived. We are not deceived by our dreams. Nevertheless he reports his own impression and does not alter nor revise it. His testimony is conscientious and true to himself. The diviner revelations to his consciousness, the higher truths presented to his mind, the conception of evil which has lived past that of his countrymen, in behalf of these too, he has borne testimony which will endure; and thus has won the title given him in the Apocalypse, of "true and faithful Witness."

Article II.

The Eschatology of St. Paul.

It seems like beginning a great way back, but for many reasons it becomes necessary in the present case that we should begin with a study of the relationship between the doctrine of St. Paul and that of the twelve apostles at Jerusalem. No other question concerning the origin of Christianity has been more persistently discussed than this, and no other has seemed so embarrassing to Christian faith. Rationalizing critics have been quick to seize upon it as a wedge wherewith to split Christianity asunder. They have emphasized the difference between St. Paul and his fellow apostles until the Gospel is made to appear not as a unit of divine inspiration but as a mere chaos of conflicting conceptions loosely gathered around the life of Jesus.

On the one side, we are told, were the twelve apostles engrossed with the Messianic ideas of their nation. Even their disappointment at the death of Jesus and the renewal of their hopes by his resurrection, had done little towards spiritualizing their thought. They had been merely thrown into a state of anxious expectancy, awaiting day after day the return of Jesus to assume his proper rank as the Jewish king who was to rule all nations. The new order of things was to be nothing

Digitized by Google

more than the triumph of a pure Jewish orthodoxy. The Law was to be maintained in all its rigor; the rite of circumcision was to stand an eternal barrier between the chosen Jew and the rejected Gentile; the temple worship was to go on with unabated attention to its most trivial details. In a word the Twelve and their followers were simply a band of devout Jews waiting for the coming of the Jewish Messiah, who had momentarily disappeared from earth, but who was soon to return in the fullness of his power.

On the other side, according to this theory, was St. Paul, the founder of a new and strange religion. With him the conceptions current among his brethren are thrust aside; and in their place comes the conception of the crucified redeemer of mankind. The belief of the Twelve is reversed at almost every point. The Law in which they delighted is swept away. The barrier of circumcision is thrown down and the whole Gentile world admitted as free, equal sharers in the promise of God. A new method of salvation through faith is proposed in the place of that old method through the works of the Law, which the Twelve were practising with such zeal that their very knees were worn smooth by constant kneeling upon the pavements of the temple.[1] So sharp a conflict in opinion wrought its natural sequence in feeling; distrust upon the one side; ill-concealed contempt upon the other; and in the end an almost open warfare which sent Jewish-Christian spies from Jerusalem to track St. Paul upon his way, as if he had been a traitor to the common cause.

That would seem to be a sad enough exhibit of Christianity in its morning hours, when the memory of Jesus was still fresh in the hearts of his disciples. But this story of divided faith and embittered feeling is but the beginning of what remains to be told. Naturally there must have been some bond of union, however slight, that kept primitive Christianity from parting clear asunder in utter wreck. And what was this common bond? Was it some deep, eternal truth holding Christianity together in the unity of the spirit, despite these

[1] At least so it was with the Apostle James.

Digitized by Google

divisions? Nay, far from that; at least, if we may trust the representatives of an unfriendly criticism. The common bond was a common error, a delusion shared by all parties and attended with the most disastrous results. The earliest apostolic Christianity, it is said, consisted mainly in the faith in Christ's coming again, "to-day or to-morrow or the third day." Nor was this merely a spiritual coming, as some commentators have attempted to show in the hope of saving the apostolic infallibility. It was an objective advent, attended by the conflagration of the world, the winding up of all human affairs and the general judgement of mankind. For the approach of these dread events the early Christians were looking from day to day, almost from hour to hour. Thereby their whole life was infected with a morbid tendency: they became idle, improvident, contemptuous of the stern duties of common every-day life. Even the written morality of the New Testament is under the influence of this fatal infection. "If the apostles," we are told by Martineau,[2] "had lived on till their mistake had worn itself out and they had discovered the permanence of the world—had they postponed writing of Scripture till this lesson of experience had been all learned—we apprehend that their scheme of applied morals would have been very different; a more genial recognition would have been given to natural human relations; the social facts of property and government, the private concerns of education and self-culture, the personal responsibilities of genius and intellect would have been less slightingly dismissed; and the sentence would have been greatly modified which now support the delusions of the improvident, the ascetic, the exclusive and the non-resisting."

Here certainly are matters sufficiently grave to demand a pause before plunging into the discussion of our special theme. Is Christ, indeed, divided? Does apostolic inspiration split apart into two contradictory forms of doctrine? These are questions that must be answered before it becomes worth while to discuss what apostolic inspiration has taught upon any given subject. Above all, if concerning this very matter

Digitized by Google

of eschatology the apostolic belief is found to be based upon an utter mistake—upon a conception that has been proved delusive by the experience of the whole world, and whose moral influence was pernicious in the extreme—what interest can we have in a belief thus found to be fundamentally and fatally erroneous? Evidently none at all as Christians. The only interest which we could feel would be of that critical, literary kind which the scholar feels in the history of every great development of human thought and human error.

We confess that for years these difficulties have troubled us. And solely because we believe that we have fairly worked our way through them—and that too without any evasion of the real issues or sacrifice of the true critical spirit—we venture to write these pages. Our path through perplexities so troublesome starts from a new theory of inspiration.

The office of inspiration, according to this theory, is largely *preventive*. Rather, inspiration has two sides, positive and negative; on the one, it reveals divine truth, on the other it prevents that revelation from being distorted, exaggerated or falsified by the human media through which it passes. It must be logically granted, and indeed is actually granted in some shape or other by all classes of believers, that the Scriptures contain a human as well as a divine element. The only alternative to that is to suppose that the inspired penman becomes a mere unconscious piece of mechanism, whose very fingers are guided by the Spirit of God to the setting down of the proper vowels and consonants and punctuation points of inspiration. But that supposition is so inherently absurd and so thoroughly contradicted by everything we behold within the Bible, that hardly anyone is found bold enough to advocate it in the present day. Everywhere we see that each inspired writer brought to his work his own characteristics of style, his own stores greater or less of scientific knowledge, his own special tendencies in moral and religious thought. In no one of these particulars was he kept perfect or infallible more than another. There is no shadow of reason for supposing that the whole body of moral or religious thought in the

[2] Martineau. Studies of Christianity, 329.

Digitized by Google

mind of a prophet or an apostle was absolute truth, any more than his belief concerning the astronomic movements, the geologic eras or the events of human history.

But what then? Is the authority of the Scriptures invalidated? Is the reader of the Bible left to pick out for himself the items of divine truth which float upon a sea of human error—in other words, to glorify as divine whatever suits his own way of thinking, and to thrust aside as human whatever may happen to clash with his peculiar prepossessions? By no means. The word of God is not, like the productions of man, a mosaic of truth and falsehood. When read aright, it comes to us clothed in every part with as full and as inappellable an authority as was ever claimed for it by the staunchest advocate of plenary inspiration.

For just here the preventive office of inspiration comes into play. In the scriptural page, as in any other writer's page, it is easy enough to see the whole soul of the writer, or at least to infer a great deal more than it was his special purpose to unfold at that time. But with this merely inferential matter the seeker after revealed truth has little to do. Private and uninspired opinions, the inspired writer must have had upon many matters lying close to his main subject. These color his utterance, give rise to peculiar forms of expression and peculiar allusions, shape the general setting forth of the truth revealed. But they are prevented by what we have called the preventing power of divine inspiration, from coming forth into formal and explicit enunciation. In every part or passage or completed statement of Scripture we have only to seek for the ruling thought, the specific and controlling intent of the writing, and there we shall find, the word of God, infallible and eternal.

And thus we are not ashamed to avow the old belief in the full and infallible inspiration of the Bible. Nor is the new theory of interpretation anything unnatural, a new expedient or ingenious make-shift. It is the only natural and legitimate method for any one who believes two things; first, that the Bible is a divine revelation and not a mere record of fallible

Digitized by Google

human thought, better than other books, mayhap, but of the same kind; second, that the inspired writers were not mere machines, having really nothing more to do with their writing than had the pens in their hands.

Apply now the method to the doctrinal differences between St. Paul and the Twelve. The latter were the disciples of Jesus in the flesh. To the current Messianic conceptions which had gathered around him during his life, they steadfastly adhered, even after his death had opened the way to loftier views. But St. Paul had not known his Master in the flesh; he knew him only in the spirit as the crucified and risen Redeemer of the world. Widely diverse were these views, and the whole New Testament was colored and modified by one or the other of them. But let it be noted that the seal of divine revelation lies only on the loftier view. When St. John wrote, his calm spirit had long since buried the great controversy in oblivion. The inspired writings left by Peter and James and their followers contain no formal enunciation of their own special doctrine, and no contradiction of the Pauline theology. Not even in his well-known criticism upon the doctrine of justification by faith, did St. James assert anything which had not been explicitly avowed by St. Paul himself.[3] Nothing could better illustrate our conception of the preventive office of inspiration than the vail of silence resting upon the belief held by all the personal disciples and the twelve chosen apostles of Jesus.

Come now to our special theme, the Pauline doctrine of futurity. We readily concede to the rationalizing critics—what it is mere foolishness to deny—that St. Paul shared with all the early Christians a common delusion in regard to the speedy return of Christ in person to the earth. But what then? Not a part or passage of Scripture can be found whose specific and controlling purpose it is to make announcement of that belief; although there are many where it is suggested, where it is incidentally alluded to, where it is used as matter leading up to the main thought which it is the evident pur-

[3] Romans ii. 18.

Digitized by Google

pose there to unfold. More than that. As we follow the development of the Pauline doctrine from the date of the earliest to the latest epistles, we shall find these merely human opinions, receding more and more into the back-ground, until they are wholly lost sight of in the increasing radiance of those great truths which it is the plain intent of the inspired pages to reveal, and which therefore alone come to us stamped with the authority of the unerring, eternal word of God. To the illustration and proving of these two facts, the rest of this paper will be devoted.

In the Epistle to the Thessalonians, the earliest of St. Paul's writings, we see the Pauline theology in the first stages of its development. Already he has caught that spiritual conception of Jesus—not as the Jewish Messiah but as the crucified Redeemer of mankind—which God had appointed him to reveal unto the world. But as yet that conception had not worked itself clear from those Jewish prepossessions which had been born into his blood and intensified by his rabbinical training. Years afterwards when his faith had fairly conquered all his misgivings, and left him free to write to the Galatians those terrible invectives against the Judaizing brethren from Jerusalem, he remembers that he had not always been thus boldly confident: he confesses that years before he had gone up to consult with the Twelve with many misgivings lest his gospel might prove delusive, and he be found to have been running in vain.[4] This state of the Apostle's mind is also photographed in his extraordinary statement whose meaning has been so much disputed, concerning the circumcision or the non-circumcision of Titus.[5] However we may interpret that statement, it is plain enough that at the period to which it refers, the faith of St. Paul existed only in vague perspective; that the details of its application, its consistency with the orthodox Christian belief and even its coherence with Jewish prepossessions that still clung to the Apostle's own mind, were matters that gave him no little unrest and anxiety.

In the Epistle to the Thessalonians, we find what we should

[4] Galatians ii. 2. [5] Ibid ii. 3, 4, 5.

Digitized by Google

naturally expect to find in letters written at this stage of the Apostolic inspiration. Undoubtedly the great principles of Pauline faith, the annulling of the exclusive privileges of the Jew, and the offer of salvation to all by the free grace of God, are there as in every other part of St. Paul's teaching from first to last. But these principles are not yet fully worked out into the fullness of light. We hear nothing of those great watch-words of the Pauline doctrine which so abound from page to page and almost from line to line of his writings. Salvation is conceived not as coming through faith in Christ but through belief in the truth.[6] The believers are described not as those who have been justified by faith in the blood of Christ, but as those who have turned from idols to serve God and to wait for the coming of his Son from heaven.[7] They are exhorted not to the mystic indwelling in Christ, but to the love of God and the patient waiting for the return of the Lord.[8] In a word, we have the vague outlines of the Pauline gospel veiled in the forms of the old Jewish thought, its Messianic conception, its flaming eschatology, and something, we fear, of its harsh, unpitying gaze upon those who stood without the pale of salvation.

And here also it is that we find those eschatological influences upon which unbelief is apt to dwell with such pleased persistency. It is a sheer wantonness of interpretation to ignore the evidence everywhere present, that when St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Thessalonians, he believed and had taught his converts to believe in the speedy coming of Christ in the flesh, and the end of the world with all its flaming accompaniments. So intensely engrossed with these vain anticipations had the Thessalonian converts grown, that they had become the prey of strange fears—fears so strange, in fact, and so utterly opposed to what we have been taught for ages to regard as the first principle of the Christian doctrine of immortality, that we can hardly understand how such misgivings could ever have found entrance into the heart of a Christian believer. Some among the brethren had died. And the

[6] II. Thess. ii. 13. [7] I. Thess. ix. 10. [8] II. Thess. iii. 5

Digitized by Google

gloomy thought of the survivors was, that these dead ones had been disappointed and deceived; death had cheated them of their share in those Messianic glories and privileges for which they had so patiently waited.

St. Paul, in his first letter, removed this strange cause of disquiet; but in so doing he fanned the glow of their anticipation into a fiercer flame. Utterly absorbed in Messianic excitement, the Thessalonian converts forsook their daily employments, neglected all the practical affairs of life, and sat daily watching for the sign of the coming of the Son of man in the heavens. Lying prophecies were uttered and letters were even forged purporting to come from St. Paul himself to prove that the final hour had arrived. The Apostle, in his second letter attempts to allay the turbulence of this excitement. But he does so in a way that renders it impossible to believe that he did not fully share the eager anticipations of his converts. He does not deny the speedy approach of the last day; he merely reminds his brethren, in mysterious words, that before the advent certain other things must come to pass. Out of his cabalalistical words only this comes forth perfectly plain; they were bid to await the death of some one then living—apparently the Emperor of Rome—as a condition precedent to the coming of the Lord. We can hardly regard this even as a temporary deferral of their anticipation; for, that death might take place at any day or hour. The Apostle seems to be striving simply to temper their wild excitement by fixing their gaze upon the mere preliminaries of the advent, rather than upon the tremendous and thrilling scenes that were afterwards to be unfolded.

So much must be granted to an unfriendly criticism. But let us apply now our rule of interpretation, that no passage of Scripture can be considered as revealing more than what it is evidently its specific and controlling purpose to reveal; that all merely auxiliary matter—inferences, suggestions, applications subordinate to the main thought—forms but the human setting in which the divine truth is fixed. Looking thus we do not find, even in the Thessalonian letters, any complete

Digitized by Google

passage whose ruling purpose is to make announcement of the speedy coming of Christ. So true is this, that when the believers were seeking for such an announcement they were driven to have recourse to forged letters from St. Paul. What was the real intent of those Thessalonian letters in their eschatological parts, can be easily discovered.

In the first letter, the divine revelation is directed against an error far more universal and far more fatal than Messianic dreams, which—hurtful in some regards—still had their bright and helpful side. That error was one born into the inmost thought of the Western nations, and one which had already proved utterly ruinous to the social and religious life of Europe. It was the old Greek doubt and despair in the presence of death—a dismay as old as Homer and still unconquered in the last days of Grecian art and philosophy. So invincible were those gloomy conceptions of death that they had cast that strange shadow, which we have already decribed, over the gloomy Messianic anticipations of the Thessalonian converts. The silent, nerveless dead—so it seemed to these despairing believers—the sad, uneasy spirits that were flitting through the dark realms of death would have no part in the promised glories of the Lord's coming.

And the main controlling purpose of First Thessalonians, so far as its eschatological portions are concerned, was directed against this fatal drift of thought common to the whole Western world. It taught the early believers the grand lesson that they were not to sorrow for the dead as those without hope; that death does not bar the promise of God; that the departed were no Plutonian slaves but living heirs to all the glories of the kingdom of heaven. Whatever else may be found therein is subsidiary, incidental to the main thought. This, as any one may see, who reads for himself, was the special and controlling purpose of the revelation. As such this letter was to the Thessalonians the very revelation which their necessities most imperiously demanded; and to us all the word of God which abideth forever.

In the second epistle another purpose rules. The eschato-

Digitized by Google

logical passages therein have for their controlling intent, a rebuke of that idle thriftless fanaticism which, absorbed in dreams of future glory, neglects the practical duties of daily life. It was God's Word to the Thessalonians, teaching them not to underrate the interests of earth nor to despise its honest labors. In a word, if the first is the gospel of Christian consolation directed against the old Pagan dread of death, the second is the gospel of labor proclaimed to a world that gloried in improvident idleness, and scorned all manual labor as the disgraceful badge of slavery.

The doctrine of futurity, then, in the Thessalonian letters, has two elements very readily to be separated by our law of the controlling purpose. On the one side is the divine revelation, which it is the specific purpose of the writing to unfold; on the other, allusions and forms of expression from which the merely human opinion of the writer may be inferred. We believe that every passage and sentence may be tried by this rule; and every one will be found to yield its gem of divine truth out of its merely human setting. But we hasten on to the subsequent writings of the Apostle in order to see how the merely human element—the Messiaic dream with all its flaming accompaniments—gradually withdraws into the darkness, while a divine revelation concerning futurity comes forth with increasing clearness from year to year and page to page. The epistles to the Corinthians were written six or seven years after those to the Thessalonians; and in them we find many proofs of a marked development of the apostolic inspiration. Chief among these proofs is an open recognition of the fact by the Apostle himself. "Though we have known Christ after the flesh," he says, "yet now henceforth know we him no more." These words can have but one meaning. Commentators, fettered by the strange idea that the Apostle, from the first days of his Christian experience, must have been possessed of an infallible wisdom, are driven to suppose that he is here referring to the period before his conversion. But there is not the slightest intimation in the words themselves of any such meaning: it does not

Digitized by Google

fit the contest; it converts the passage into a truism irrelevant and almost imbecile. To know Christ after the flesh was to know him after the way of the Judaizing Christians—to know him according to those Messianic conceptions which had gathered around him during his earthly life—to know him as the long-expected king who was to restore the wasted fortunes of Israel, and to bring the world to the worship of the true God through the narrow gate of circumcision and ceremonial Judaisim.

From that way of viewing Christ, St. Paul had now utterly separated himself. He confesses that it had been different in former years; once he too had known Christ after the flesh. Only by slow degrees had he worked himself clear from prepossessions due to his nationalty, his training, the high authority of the Twelve, the prestige of orthodoxy which at that time was unmistakably on the side of the Judaizing Christians. Long after he had grasped the main thoughts of his more spiritual gospel, the old influences had been strong upon him; and hence had come those charges of inconsistency so often made against him by his adversaries. But henceforth, he says, he will be utterly free. He will know no man after the flesh. He will know only Christ after the spirit—a spiritual Christ who is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither circumcised nor uncircumcised, but simply the crucified, risen Reedemer of mankind.

What now is the doctrine of futurity revealed in those Corinthian letters wherein the Apostle proclaims his final emancipation from the narrow Messianism of the Judaizing Christians? We need barely refer to the famous fifteenth chapter of the first letter. Its words are so indelibly impressed upon the memory of all those who will be apt to read this paper, that we pause only to note one matter. In the Thessalouian letters there are traces of that harsh antithesis between the righteous and the wicked which formed the very essence of the narrow fanatical Judaism and Judaic Christianity of that day. The believers are to be caught up in the air to meet Christ at his coming; the unbelievers are to be debarred from the

Digitized by Google

glories and joy of that presence. The picture is vague. There is not the slightest hint, it will of course be noted, of hell and its tortures, of any of those terrible superstions—not even Jewish, but thoroughly heathen—which have so long tortured the heart of Christendom. But still the tone is grim, exclusive. The vision of futurity begins and ends with the coming of Christ in a glory which believers are to share while unbelievers are to be excluded. But in the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians all this has changed. The specific purpose is to present Christ as a power which, sooner or later, is to give life to all who have come under the dominion of death. There is no hint of limitation or of difference in destiny; the only difference recognized is that of time or of the order of succession. First, Christ; afterwards, they that are Christ's at his coming; afterward cometh the end or final epoch, wherein Christ's work is to be brought to full completion, and God to be all in all.

The English version, by its unfortunate rendering of εἶτα as *then*, has obscured the separation between the second and third epochs and made them appear as one, But ἔπειτα does not mean *then*, a specific point of time; it means *afterwards*, *next*, and here introduces a new epoch. And thus there comes a grand advance of revelation beyond what had been attained in Thessalonians. For there, as we have seen, the vision of futurity ends with the coming of Christ and the participation of believers in his glories. But we are carried beyond that into a third or vaster epoch, where the life-giving and new-creating power of Christ at last gains a perfect triumph over all existence.

With this advancing light of divine revelation there is also a marked waning of the merely human element in St. Paul's doctrine of futurity. Take, for instance, the fifth verse of the fourth chapter of First Corinthians, where believers are exhorted to judge nothing until the Lord shall come. Here again the English version gives no intimation of the vague, wavering tone of uncertainty that is expressed by the Greek ἕως ἂν with the subjunctive mood of the verb. The

Digitized by Google

doctrine of the speedy coming of Christ is no longer presented with the bold decisive assurance of former years. It is here suggested as something problematical, and dependant upon circumstances, something that has passed into the region of the dubious and unknown. Nothing could more forcibly illustrate the receding of the merely human element in the inspired pages, as the divine element advances into a clearer light.

Another instance in the changed meaning in Corinthians, of the term 'destruction.' In Thessalonians the destruction of the wicked seems to be presented as something future, a sudden doom to be inflicted from without. But in Corinthians it is something present, a ruin already being wrought within by the laws of our spiritual constitution. The wicked are already "perishing," "already lost,"[9] in that state of spiritual ruin which goes hand in hand with sin and unbelief. Commentators have vainly tried to put one meaning upon those two conceptions. But they stand apart in origin and significance. The one is an expression of the merely human and waning element in the apostolic thought; the other, of that divine, infallible, always advancing element, which gradually transforms even the very words of the Apostle into meanings loftier, more spiritual, more in accordance with those eternal truths which God had appointed him to reveal.

The Epistle to the Romans formulates principles upon which rests the whole Pauline doctrine of futurity; 1 a redemption as universal as the ruin wrought by sin; 2 a transformation of all nature attendant upon the gradual regeneration of humanity; 3 a divine mercy so universal that even the divine judgements are its hidden forms. We pause only to note, in accordance with our method of interpretation, that these principles are not left to be ingeniously inferred from some passing allusions or casual forms of expression, from the mere local coloring of the Apostle's thought. On the contrany, the whole epistle is a systematic exposition, whose evident design is to lead up to these three conclusions—these central truths in the divine revelation of futurity.

[9] I. Cor. i. 18, and II Cor. iv. 3. In both the present tense is used.

Digitized by Google

The Epistles of the captivity disclose to us the third and final stage of the Apostolic inspiration. The missionary labors of the Apostle to the Gentiles have been brought to a close. With the enforced inactivity of his long imprisonment at Rome had come a natural abatement of the fiery vehemence which had characterized his thought as well as his action. The old controversy with the Judaizing brethren was, for him at least, a thing of the past. He had delivered his message and with God was the result. Even if there were still those who preached a narrow Judaic gospel, and that with the evident design of adding bitterness to his bonds, he will not, as of old, give way to righteous indignation. Nay, but because in some shape or other, however imperfect, Christ is still being preached, he rejoices and will rejoice.[10]

In the quiet of his captivity one matter seems to have largely engrossed his attention. He could not but see that a faith so free and spiritual as that which he had proclaimed was especially liable to be distorted and exaggerated in the interests of immoralty and death. This process of corruption had already begun ; and against it the Epistles of this period are largely directed. It is indeed difficult to gather into any sort of coherence the scattered allusions of St. Paul to the false teachers and their false doctrines. Hence commentators have been content to group these heresies together under the high-sounding title of Germs of Gnosticism ; but that is to attempt to describe one unknown quantity by another equally unknown. Getting but little help in this way let us attempt to find for ourselves the relations of these heresies to the Christianity of St. Paul.

(1) The Pauline principle of freedom from the bondage of the Law, was exaggerated into an antinomian license which justified the vilest impurity,[11] and turned the grace of God into lasciviousness,[12] precisely as the Pauline theology of Luther was travestied by the fanatical Anabaptists to the great disgrace of early Protestantism. (2) The spiritualism of St. Paul, with its frequent antithesis between the flesh and the

[10] Phil. i. 18. [11] Ephesians v. 6. [12] Jude 4, and Colossians ii. 16.

Digitized by Google

spirit, was exaggerated into an asceticism which mortified the body, prohibited marriage,[13] enjoined abstinence from meats, and in other ways strove to display its contempt for the material. (3) The Pauline conception of Christ as the Son of God, with its exaltation of Him into a mysterious co-regency with the Father, had been developed by the heretics into theosophic fancies corncening divine emanations and celestial hierarchies which St. Paul denounces as angel-worship,[14] as a matter of endless genealogies,[15] of profane and silly fables. (4) The Pauline doctrine of justification by faith rather than by works had been distorted into the doctrine of the so-called Gnosis[16]—the exaltation of knowledge above deeds, of intellect above character.

We see then that all these heretical tendencies had one common mark. The false teaching was not a new system radically opposed to that of St. Paul and founded upon different principles. It was rather a fungous outgrowth of his theology—a morbid exaggeration of his lofty and spiritual faith unrelieved by his moral insight and inspired wisdom.

This loug digression is indispensable to us now that we have to confront the most perplexing question connected with our subject. In one of the Epistles of the captivity, St. Paul describes himself as struggling to "attain unto the resurrection of the dead."[17] The rigidly orthodox explanation of these words—that St. Paul meant the resurrection, not of the dead, but of the righteous—must be summarily rejected. All interpretation of the Apostle's word is at an end, if we suppose in him such a strange incapacity for saying what he really meant. A more plausible explanation is that of the believers in the annihilation of the wicked, who regard St. Paul as here teaching that the resurrection from the dead was a gift granted only to the righteous. But this explanation, to say nothing of other considerations, is directly overthrown by the words that follow—"not that I have already attained or am made perfect." St. Paul could not have spoken these if he had been

[13] I. Tim. iv. 3. [14] Col. ii. 23. [15] I. Tim. i. 4. [16] Ibid iv. 7. [17] Phil. iii. 2.

Digitized by Google

referring to a literal resurrection from the grave to the immortal life. What then does he mean?

The inspired Apostle had long since passed beyond those bold Messianic notions of Judaic Christianity, which saw in the resurrection only a rising of dead bodies from the grave to meet the Lord in the air. To him the true ressurrection was a spiritual event, the rising of the soul into the life which is in Christ Jesus. Those who believed had already passed from death unto life, had been quickened with Jesus, raised with him, made to sit with him in heavenly places.[18] But the inspired vision of St. Paul does not rest with this which was but half the truth. He saw that although this spiritual process might begin, it could not be brought to full completion under the conditions of earth. He recognizes himself as being here still under the bondage of sin; he longs for freedom from the body of his abasement, for that perfect redemption which can come only when absent from the body he should be present with the Lord. Thus in the lofty conception of St. Paul the resurrection is both spiritual and literal. It includes not only a spiritual resurrection but as something necessary for the full realization of this a literal resurrection from physical death to the immortal life.

The false teachers, to whom we have referred above, had distorted this doctrine of the resurrection as well as almost every other part of the apostolic teaching. They asserted that "the resurrection was past already,"[19] in other words, they taught a spiritual resurrection which began and ended with the present life. In the lofty pride of their self-styled Gnosis, they claimed to have already attained that perfected resurrection from death unto life, for which the great Apostle sat in chains humbly and patiently waiting.

Against these false teachers the words we are considering were evidently directed. The Apostle describes himself as one who is striving "if by any means he might attain" unto that spiritual resurrection which, although it may begin in the present life, can only become a completed fact after death,

[18] John v. 24. Colossians ii. 12—13. Ephesians ii. 1—6. [19] II. Tim. ii. 18.

Digitized by Google

and therefore is designated with the utmost exactitude and the profoundest truthfulness as the resurrection of the dead. And then with the most direct reference to the doctrine of the false teachers, he adds; "not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect." Thus interpreted, this perplexing passage gains a clear, consistent meaning; and a new light is thrown upon the doctrine of the resurrection as it appeared to St. Paul, in this culminating period of his inspiration.

Because it forms no part of our design to dwell upon the more familiar and less difficult portions of our subject, we do not describe the other details of the doctrine of futurity taught in the Epistle of the Captivity. Suffice it that these letters form the very citadel of Christian Universalism. The utterances of St. Paul, standing now at the summit of his inspiration, are explicit, clear and decisive to the utmost degree. This tranquil vision of a redeemed humanity is marred by no relic of earlier prepossessions. There is absolutely no trace of coloring, no word nor faint allusion which can serve to remind us of the grim, narrow Pharasaism amidst which the Apostle was born and bred.

Before concluding we must be permitted to express our dissent from certain speculations concerning the origin of the Pauline Universalism, contained in a recent number of this Review.[20] The writer thereof, upon the authority of some Talmudic citations from a late French work, wishes us to believe that St. Paul borrowed his Universalism from the Pharasaic teachers of his youth. Concerning this theory, so diametrically opposed to what has been advanced in this paper, we have this to say.

R. Akiba, upon whose authority of futurity so much stress is laid, was executed for his share in a fanatical revolt of the Jews against the Roman empire. The date is given as 134, A. D., both by Jost in his *Geschichte des Judenthum* and Graetz in his *Geschichte der Juden*—two of the chief authorities upon which the French author has relied in the compila-

[20] Origin of Ancient Jewish Sects. Universalist Quarterly, July 1881, p. 281.

Digitized by Google

tion of his work. It would seem venturesome indeed to derive the Universalism of St. Paul from a form of Pharasaism which began with the decision of a Rabbi who—judging from the ordinary standard of life—could hardly have been more than a babe at the time when the aged Apostle was writing the last of his letters.

(2) The doctrine of the school to which Akiba belonged, was a hybrid and degenerate Pharasaism. It bears the same relation to the pure Pharasaism of Hillel and Shammai as the "new orthodoxy" of to-day does to the rigid Calvinism of a century ago. The strict Pharasaism of old was crushed and utterly demoralized by the fall of Jerusalem; it existed henceforth as a compromise, by accommodating its old thought to a new order of things, and borrowing new thoughts from many sources, especially from Gnostic and Christian. This applies to all the Rabbinical schools after the fall of Jerusalem; but preeminently to that of Akiba aud his companions.

Of Akiba we know that he was an ignorant man until the age of forty; that then he first devoted himself to Gnostic speculations and afterwards became a master in the Pharasaic Israel. Gnosticism, we have already found reasons for regarding as a fantastic exaggeration of Pauline Christianity; and it is to be noted that even after Akiba became a great Rabbi, he pronounces a decision in favor of that fundamental Gnostic principle—the exaltation of Gnosis, or knowledge above the deeds of righteousness.([21]) Noteworthy also is the case of a pupil of Akiba, the Rabbi Mair, who died sixteen years later, and was even more celebrated than his master. Although Mair was acknowledged to be the great light of Rabbinism in the second century, he borrowed so freely and boldly from the Minim or Christians that his authorlty on the schools was greatly lessened thereby. Still many of the Rabbi openly defended his course, saying; "he retained the kernel and rejected the shell."[22]

[21] Since writing the above, Canon Farrar's *Mercy and Judgement*, with its discussion of Rabbinism has come to the notice of the writer. He finds nothing there, however, which alters his opinions of Akiba outlined above.

[22] Babli. Hagigah 15 b.

Digitized by Google

(3) It is then a degenerate and decaying Pharasaism which has borrowed from Pauline Christianity, and not reversedly. We deem this deduction to be a genuine contribution to the history of Universalism, and one of no little controversial importance. It exhibits the Universalism of St. Paul, not only as a dead letter hidden within his writings, but as a living power in primitive Christianity: and a force so vigorously advancing that at the beginning of the second century, it had passed beyond the circle of Christian life into the schools of Jewish Pharasaism, and there is found spreading something of its light over the gloom and harsh rigors of what always before had been the grimmest of doctrines and the most forlorn of faiths.

ARTICLE III.

Theories of Skepticism, Necessity in Philosophy — Fatalism in Science.

IN the series of papers, we propose to write on the systems and theories of what claims to be modern scientific skepticism, we shall discuss in this paper as necessary to prepare the way for the papers which are to follow, Philosophical necessity and Scientific Fatalism. Calvanism in theology, necessity in philosophy, and fatalism in science are kindred systems of thought.[1] Buckle, the great expounder of the doctrines of scientific fatalism in their application to society and history was trained from childhood in Calvinism by his mother who was an enthusiastic disciple of that school of theology.[2] The fatalism which he derived from the theology of Calvin he applied in his philosophical and scientific interpretation of the facts given us in the History of Civilization. He states that,[3] "Rejecting the doctrine, or metaphysical dogma of free will, and the theological

[1] History of Civilization, vol 1, p. 14. [2] Life and Writings of T. H. Buckle.
[3] History of Civilization. vol. 1, pp. 14, 15.

Digitized by Google

dogma of predestined events, we are driven to the conclusion that the actions of men being determined solely by their antecedents must have a character of uniformity."[3] But how did this philosopher in writing the philosophy and science of history find the key of necessity which unlocks all the wards in the great Temple of the world's civilization? He found it just as Edwards found it, in the controling influence of motives.

Hear him as he gives in his great History of Civilization the metaphysical origin of his philosophy and science of history: "When we perform an action, we perform it in consequence of some motive, or motives; those motives are the results of some antecedents; and therefore, if we were acquainted with the whole of the antecedents and with all the laws of their movements we could with unerring certainty predict the whole of their immediate results. This, unless I am greatly mistaken, is the view which must be held by every man whose mind is unbiased by system, and who forms his opinions according to the *evidence before him*."[4] Buckle and Edwards drank from the same fountain of philosophic thought, and the History of Civilization, and the *Treatise on the Will* grew from the same *theological seed*, and that was *Calvinism*. Edwards was a Calvinist in theology and a necessitarian in philosophy, and his great work on the will was written as a rational defence of the doctrine of *Calvin's Institutes* of *Theology*. The three systems have the same genesis, are defended by the same arguments, and reach the same conclusions in regard to the necessity of all actions and all events. They rest upon the same philosophy, use the same logic, and appropriate and apply the same facts and principles of science in the interpretation of all the physical, vital, intellectual, moral, and social phenomena of life. They are also closely allied in thought, in philosophy, in logic, in their historical development with Materialism, Atheism, Pantheism, and Pessimism. Materialism would evolve all forms of being from one substance, Atheism would explain all phenomena without will, Pantheism traces all events and all actions to the

[4] History of Civilization, By T. H. Buckle, p. 13.

Digitized by Google

operation of one cause, Pessimism holds that man stands helpless before a universal and unchanging law of fatalism. Necessity in philosophy and science seeks to bring the actions of mind and the movements of matter under one law and that physical, to deny the existence and action of free will, to trace all events and all acts to the same cause, and holds that man is but a link in nature's chain and but a wheel in nature's mechanism and is helpless to move only as nature moves, and in the direction in which nature moves. Soil and climate, mountains and plains, rivers and seas, continents and oceans, winds and tides, combined, constitute the great objective environment which has caused the development of all science, language, art, literature, law, government and religion. What is the philosophy and logic of this stupendous system of fatalism? Is it theological? The argument is constructed thus: Man is governed by motives; motives result from the environment; Nature makes the environment, and God is the author of nature. Therefore God causes and controls all man's actions and all nature's movements. Here we have theological pantheism. If a materialist constructs the argument you have it in this form: Motives cause all man's actions, the motives result from the environment by a law of necessity — necessity pertains only to physics, and physics deals only with matter; therefore the whole system, and man as a part of it, and belonging to it, is material — he is organized of material elements, lives under material laws, is moved by material forces. This is philosophical and scientific materialism.

The Atheist reasons on the subject in this way: All of the so called acts of will are caused by motives; motives are caused by circumstances, and nature's changes give rise to circumstances; therefore there is no such thing as will in the universe. The God that men worship is nothing but the forces of nature clothed by man with the attributes of his own nature. This is atheism. Atheists do not deny the manifestation of mind in the universe; but it is the manifestation of conscious, and voluntary mind, — mind which forms a pur-

Digitized by Google

pose, works out a plan, works to an end, which they deny. In other words atheists eliminate will from the universe, and they do this by discarding the psychological fact given in human consciousness that there is will in man. And they do this because they know it is only by recognizing the existence of will in man that we can logically reach the conclusion that there is a divine will. They rationally assume that if they can explain all the activities of man without the admission of a human will, they can explain all the movements and changes in nature without the admission of a divine will.

But there is an historical connection, as well as a logical and philosophical one, between necessity and the different forms and theories of skepticism. It is a fact of history that all atheists, materialists, and pantheists are necessitarians. We do not affirm that all advocates of necessity are materialists, atheists, pantheists or skeptics, but we do affirm that the disciples of all these schools of skepticism advocate the doctrines of necessity. From Leucippus and Democritus through Spinoza and Hume down to d'Holbach and Comte, the whole mass will agree with Edwards in maintaining the absolute, universal necessitation of all events, whether volitional or non-volitional. The doctrine that one principle of causation, or fixed, invariable sequence rules all things, material or mental, and all events of will or of physics, is central with the atheism of d'Holbach, the pantheism of Spinoza, and the Calvinism of Edwards.[5] This history is grounded in logic and philosophy. Logically and morally necessity belongs to their system and the freedom of will does not. The doctrine that there is no soul, and no will exempt from the law of necessity which rules the domains of physics, that there is no God who does not come under this same inflexible law with matter, levels the whole into one system of fatalistic materialism. The subjection of human volitions to the same law which regulates the movements of matter eliminates responsibility, dispenses with retribution, and makes moral government a myth. "It is a memorable point in

[5] Whedon on the Will, p. 108.

Digitized by Google

modern intellectual history, that when the European mind lay stagnant in the black quagmire of the sensual philosophy of Condillac and his brother materialistic Atheist, the first omens and the first start of reaction in the hands of Maine de Biran, Roger Collard, and Victor Cousin, were the conception and development of the idea of will, of an active power, and alternative freedom."[6]

The doctrine that the will *always moves in the direction of the strongest motive* affirmed by the advocates of necessity as a law of mental action is but stating in another form as a doctrine of philosophy, the physical law *that all motion is in the direction of the least resistance*, and thus brings the actions of mind and the motions of matter under the same law of unvarying sequence and physical necessity. The extension of the mechanical laws of motion to organic motion, and its application to vital and mental phenomena was, we believe, first carried out by Comte in his system of positive philosophy which advocates practical atheism.[7]

This shows the logical harmony between the theories of necessity and scientific fatalism, and reveals the fact that in the history of the growth and development of skeptical thought both have been used in the defense of atheism. Mr. Spencer in his system of philosophy holds that there can be no social science unless the laws of life and mind are as inevitable as the laws of matter.[8] From this system he has eliminated the free will of man, and in it he has no room for God, only as the unknown and unknowable cause of all phenomena.[9]

Mr. Fiske, a disciple of Mr. Spencer, in his outlines of Cosmic Philosophy says: "It is the property of tissue that gives the impulse which, when guided by intelligence, we call volition, and it is the abstraction from particular volitions which metaphysicians personify as will. Physiologically we cannot choose but reject the will; volition we know and the will we know, but the will apart from particular acts of volition or willing we cannot know."[10] The existence of the faculty

[6] Whedon on the Will, p. 109.
[7] Systeme Politique Positive, p. 178.
[8] The Study of Sociology. p. 41.
[9] First Principles, by Herbert Spencer.
[10] Cosmic Philosophy, vol. ii., p. 176.

Digitized by Google

of the will is here denied that the function of volition may be accounted for as the result solely of *nervous action*. But the nervous system is the instrument and not the cause of thought and volition. If all the movements of the body are equally necessary, as they must be if there be not will and voluntary action, what is the use of voluntary nerves and muscles?

We know there are nerves and muscles which are not under the control of the will; they are in popular language called involuntary because they serve the vital and not the mental system, and act under a law of necessity. But there is another set of nerves and muscles which serve the will, and are the instruments of all our voluntary actions. It is true that this nerve force is garnered up in the nerve centers in the voluntary as in the involuntary systems; but in a perfectly normal and healthy condition of the voluntary nerves an act of will is necessary to set this nerve force free so as to cause voluntary muscular action. It is said the existence of will modern psychology does not recognize; it is concerned only with the process of will, or volition.[11] But function implies a faculty, and work an agent. Effect demands a cause.

Now what is the faculty of which volition is the function, and what is the cause of which volition is an effect, if there is no such thing as will? Who is the agent in all voluntary action, if man is not free and endowed with free will?

Dr. Maudsley observes, we, as scientific investigators have to deal with volition as a function of the supreme centres.[12] This is the physiological side of volition; it is not the psychological side of will. Physiology as a physical science can only deal with the material organ or instrument of volition while Psychology as a spiritual science deals with the spiritual cause of our voluntary actions. "Loss of power of will is one of the earliest and most characteristic symptoms of mental derangement, and it is the direct effect of physical disease."[13]

Insanity is a result of a diseased condition of the material

[11] Cosmic Philosophy, By John Fiske, vol. ii., p. 175.
[12] Body and Mind, pp. 22, 23. [13] Body and Mind, p. 23.

Digitized by Google

instrument of thought and action, not of a deranged state of their spiritual cause. The instrument is weakened through disease, and the manifestations of mental power must be affected by the diseased condition of the instrument of mind.

Says Mr. Ray: "It will hardly be necessary at the present time to prove the fact of the dependence of mind on the brain for its external manifestations — that in short the brain is the material organ of the intellectual and affective powers."[14]

This standard authority in Physiology and Psychology represents the brain as the organ of mind, and as the instrument for the manifestation of intellect, and not as its cause. The loss then of will power in the insane, is from the loss of power of manifestation in the diseased instrument and not from the loss of power to think and will in the spiritual agent. Moral Insanity consists in this loss of the power of rational and voluntary action through disease of the brain. Action is the manifestation of power, but power of will may exist without being manifested.

Dr. Carpenter, who is both a physiologist and psychologist, in his able work on Mental Physiology has given us a study on the nature and activities of mind from the standpoint of consciousness, and also from that of the latest physiological research. The result of his investigations he has given us in the chapters on the will, in which he proves by conclusive arguments derived from both physiology and psychology the freedom of the will.[15] We have not space in this paper to go over his arguments, but his opinion is introduced here as that of a standard writer and acknowledged authority on the science of physiology. His testimony is that of an expert, and it shows that the revelations made by the science of physiology do not support the doctrines of necessity and materialistic fatalism.

Dr. Calderwood, in his able and profound work on the relations of brain and mind, shows conclusively from physiological evidence that nervous action will not account

[14] Medical Jurisprudence of Insanity, By J. Ray, M.D., p. 138.
[15] Mental Physiology, pp. 370–443.

Digitized by Google

for the volitions of the will.[16] He says: "What we mean by volition or the exercise of will power is best shown in the first instance by marking its contrast with nerve action. It is not that which moves the muscles, but that which determines that they shall be moved. It moves the nerve cells to act upon the muscles and thus move the limbs." This places will action or volition in direct contrast with nerve action, and shows that the nervous mechanism will not explain volition. Volition as a free movement of will is given us in consciousness, and the evidence of its existence is psychological and not physiological. The manifestation of volition is the function of the nerve cells acting on the muscles. The evidence of nervous action which gives expression to volition is found in physiology. That which acts upon the motor cells is as certainly external to the system as the object which comes in contact with the sensory system; and this puts the will and the volition as an act of will outside the machinery of nerves and muscles, by the action of which the will manifests its power. We thus reach the conclusion that the will is objective to the nervous organism, lives and acts apart from it, but uses it as the machinery or instrument by which it comes in contact with and operates on the material universe. This fact is sustained by the concurrent testimony of psychology and physiology, and is given us in consciousness, and by scientific experiment.

Mr. J. J. Murphy, in his very able and original work on "*Habit and Intelligence*" meets the argument against the freedom of the will based on the doctrine of the persistence of energy most conclusively. It is urged that according to this doctrine of modern science the will cannot create energy, and therefore cannot be the efficient cause of action. The reply is that those who hold that the will is free do not believe it creates energy. It directs energy. And in the direction and use of the energy which has been stored up in the nerve centres, it controls voluntary muscular action so as to act efficiently on the elements, forces, and materials of the universe in which we live. It is in this way spiritual man

[16] Relations of Mind and Brain, By Henry Calderwood, LL.D., p. 274.

Digitized by Google

uses material nature, and free man controls necessary nature, and rational man appropriates irrational nature.

The philosophy of necessity grounds itself on the universal application of the law of causation. And those who teach it hold that the theory of liberty makes all acts of the will causeless. This is a mistake. We believe every effect must have a cause — that every act is performed by some agent. But man himself is a cause. He is the free and voluntary cause of his own acts. They are caused and yet are free.

He is a free agent, responsible for his own acts, and as such is under the law of liberty. Man is a free cause, acting freely, and like God his creator, he acts from within himself, out of the fulness and power of his own spiritual nature. His being is an empire within itself, dependent upon its own resources alone for the power to act and for motives to use that power.

The advocates of necessity also hold that all human actions, whether volitional or un-volitional, are under the control of universal immutable law — and they assume this to be a law of necessity. They thus apply the same law to matter and mind, and teach that the volitions of the will and the rising of the sun are equally necessary and inevitable. In reply we answer that there is no evidence of the existence of any such law. The evidence is all against it. It is contrary to logic, as there is a good deal more in the conclusion than there is in the premise. It is a universal conclusion drawn from a very limited and partial investigation of only a part of the facts.

It is unscientific. We cannot apply the laws of mechanical physics in chemistry, the laws of chemistry in biology and the laws of biology in psychology and ethics. Science is based on classification, and classification implies difference as well as likeness — unity, invariety. If every event, and all acts were alike and under the same law of necessity there could be but one class, and in such a world there would be no room for science.

There are laws of mind adapted to the nature of mind, as there are material laws adapted to the nature of matter. The

Digitized by Google

will being free is under the law of freedom, and not of necessity.

The advocates of necessity rely upon the doctrine of motives to prove that the volitions of the will are necessary.[17] We know that man cannot act rationally and morally without motives.

But motives are the conditions and not the causes of action. Man himself is the cause of his own actions, the free and responsible cause; the acts are his and not another's. Motives are only the conditions, or the occasions of man's volitions and actions. If they are not causes but conditions of action, they certainly cannot make them either certain or necessary.

But this argument would prove too much. It would bring the actions of God under a law of necessity as well as the actions of men.

It is not only a law of the human, but of the divine will to act with reference to motives. If motive influence destroys man's liberty it also destroys God's. If it makes man's acts necessary it makes God's acts necessary. This would indeed eliminate all free will from the universe and land all philosophical and scientific thought in atheism. For this logical consequence of the application of their argument from many of the advocates of necessity are not prepared. They are not atheists or pantheists, but Christians, and are unwilling to accept as true the legitimate conclusions of their own logic. This shows that their argument from motives for necessity proves too much. It is therefore unsound, and logically it proves nothing.

But what are motives? They are not causes. They have no causal power. They cannot cause a thing to be. They are without creative energy. They are subjective states of mind, and not objective facts. In their relations to mental activity they are passive and not active. If they are not causes, and have no causal power, and are passive and not active in their relations to mind, how can they cause human

[17] See Edwards on the Will, Buckle's History of Civilization, Fiske's Cosmic Philosophy.

Digitized by Google

action, create human volition, and bring all the actions of men under a law of necessity.

Motives are reasons for action, but reasons do not compel action. They are inducements, but inducements are not causes but are addressed to causes. They are considerations that demand attention, but considerations are only influential as they are acted on by the mind. They derive all their power from the mind itself. It is therefore evident that there is nothing in motives to cause volitions or make actions necessary.

To assume that the will is always governed by the strongest motive, is to reason in a circle. The logic of necessitarians is this: It is the strongest motive because it prevails, and it prevails because it is the strongest. In this argument, if it may be dignified by that name, they assume as the major premise the truth of the very proposition to be proved — that is, that the will is always governed by the strongest motive. We deny this and demand the proof. The fact is that rationally considered, most men act from very weak motives, and as Bushnel says in his *Nature* and the *Supernatural* this is the moral element in the act of sin. We quote from memory, and do not profess to give his language, but his thought.

Leibnitz had a variation of the causal maxim upon which he prided himself; namely, that *nothing takes place without a sufficient reason*. If this be true then there are no unreasonable men in the world, no unreasonable acts in life, and no unreasonable events in history. There is a sufficient reason for all crime, vice and wickedness; for intemperance, cruelty, hate, revenge, dishonesty, deceit, injustice, oppression, murder, arson and persecution; for these things exist. Then there is a sufficient reason for the religion, laws, morals, chuches, schools and courts of law that are used to prevent these moral social and political wills, for they also exist. The empire of reason is divided against itself; reason contradicts reason; reason prohibits reason; reason punishes reason; reason hates and persecutes reason. This destroys the unity of reason and the unity of man's rational nature. It arrays

Digitized by Google

reason against conscience and common sense and morals and religion and law and order. It introduces anarchy, and confusion into every department of nature, life, mind, and morals. The argument of Mr. Buckle from statistics has no application to man as an individual.[18] The argument is constructed on the law of averages as applied to social groups or communities, which shows a marked degree of uniformity in the statistics of crime, taking the history of the community from one to five years. This shows that there is a law of uniformity which applies to social groups, but it does not prove the existence of the same law as applying to individuals. If the same law applied to individuals the social philosopher could foretell not only the moral history of the group or community for five years, but he could predict with equal certainty the moral history of each individual of that community for every day of the five years. That this can be done is not claimed by M. Youeteler, Mr. Buckle or any other writer on social science. Mr. John Kenn, in his *Logic of Chance*, states that "the doctrine of probabilities, as its fundamental conception which the reader has to fix in his mind as clearly as possible, is, I take it, that of a series. But it is a series of a particular kind, of one of which no better compendious description can be given than that which is contained in the statement that it combines individual irregularity with aggregate regularity." [19]

This authority shows that the reasoning of probability does not apply to the individual only as related to the series.

W. S. Jevons, in his *Principles of Science*, which is now regarded as a standard authority among logicians, holds that the result of probable reasoning is only probable knowledge. It can never give certainty even when applied to nature.[20]

The argument from statistics for the certainty and necessity of human actions is probable reasoning, and can therefore never give as a result anything more than probability. It en-

[18] History English Civilization. By T. H. Buckle, vols. i–ii., p. 18.
[19] Logic of Chance, vol. i., By John Venn, MS, pp. 4–5.
[20] Principles of Science, By M. S. Jevons, p. 197.

Digitized by Google

tirely fails to demonstrate either certainty or necessity in actions of men. This argument therefore fails to establish the doctrine of either philosophical or scientific necessity.

A word touching the argument for necessity from the influence of nature on man, as presented by Mr. Buckle:

He says, "We have man modifying nature and nature modifying man; while out of this reciprocal modification all events must necessarily spring."[21]

We admit the influence of nature on man, but deny that it is causal. Nature conditions human progress, but does not cause it. Man is the cause of his own progress, and is the active agent in producing his own advancement. Mr. Buckle has written an able work, but he has failed to demonstrate his thesis. If man's modification of nature does not cause all her movements and changes. Nature's modification of man does not cause all his volitions and actions. This is evident. Man is free and is therefore a proper subject of religion, morals and law. Civilization is not founded on necessity, but freedom; and progress is not the result of fatalism, but of liberty.

Article IV.

The Sin Against the Holy Ghost.

CONCLUDED FROM THE APRIL NUMBER OF 1881.

On proceeding to the exposition of our subject, we can hardly fail to recall the confession of Dr. Bloomfield that "there is scarcely any point in the interpretation of the New Testament which has been more debated than the nature of the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, of which, it is here said that it shall not be forgiven:"[1] or the remark of the

[21] To see this subject treated at length, read Buckle's History Civilization; Draper's Intellectual Development of Europe.

[1] Greek Test. with English Notes, *in loco.*

Digitized by Google

learned Calmet that "in things simple and plain people easily agree, while a multiplicity of interpretations is a certain sign of obscurity."[2] Through all the ages of the church in which it finds mention, this unpardonable sin has been uniformly regarded as peculiarly grave and difficult — and difficult especially because it is assumed to be unpardonable. Augustine who seems to have given the subject more attention than any other of the Fathers, and whose opinion of it appears to have shifted with every new examination, pronounces it a *grande secretum*, a great mystery, and adds that in the whole Bible there is perhaps no graver question to be met with, nor one more difficult.[3] And this has been the prevailing opinion with all since his time who have given the subject any serious thought.[4] Olshausen finds it invested with difficulties, and Dr. Schaff opens his treatise on the Sin Against the Holy Ghost in the very words of Augustine just quoted. It is a general fact, we venture to assume, that what is most important in Holy Scripture and most deeply concerns our salvation, is also most intelligible and plain. Is it probable that the case before us proves the converse of that beneficent law?

A careful examination of the words of our Savior here will naturally suggest three capital questions, namely, 1. In what sense are we to understand *the Holy Ghost* here spoken of as the subject of this blasphemy? 2. How shall we interpret the declaration that this blasphemy *shall not be forgiven?* 3. What is the meaning of the words, *Neither in this world nor in the world to come?* A satisfactory answer to these questions will exhaust the subject and resolve all the difficulties that attend it.

I. And first as to the import of the term Holy Ghost or Holy Spirit. Olshausen suggests, and not without reason,

[2] Sur le Péche contre le S. Esprit.

[3] Sermo LXXI. Dico charitati vestrae: forte in omnibus sanctis scripturis nulla major quaestio, nulla difficilior invenitur. Migne's Patrol. Latina. Tom xxxviii., 449.

[4] Bishop Odo of the 12th century declares it *quaestio valde difficilis*, a very difficult question. Richard St. Victor complains that it is *obscura et perplexa valde*, exceedingly obscure and perplexed.

Digitized by Google

that these words involve a difficulty and so increase the difficulty of the whole subject. In the common interpretation of the passage the term Holy Ghost is obviously understood as the distinct name of the third person of what is called the Holy Trinity. Among all English-speaking people this is the prevailing notion as to the meaning of these words; the Holy Ghost as really indicates the third person of the Trinity as the Son does the second or the Father the first.

This, however, is rather an easy assumption than an established fact or a well-reasoned conclusion. At the moment, indeed, we cannot recall a single attempt of ancient or modern times to show that this is the necessary or even the admissible meaning here. So far from inquiring into the import of the term it is always taken for granted that it means the third person of the Trinity, and this no doubt is supposed to be as certain and settled as any fact in the Bible.

The single word πνευμα, as everybody knows, is by our translators sometimes rendered *spirit*, (Latin *spiritus*), and sometimes *ghost*, (Anglo Saxon and Old English *gast*), both though from different sources expressing essentially the same thing. In our English version of the scriptures the word *ghost* occurs, if we mistake not, about one hundred times, but in only six or eight is it employed to signify the human spirit, and then only in such expressions as "he yielded or gave up the ghost." In all other cases, and these exclusively in the New Testament, the term ghost is accompanied by the word *holy*, and in our more recently printed Bibles is always dignified with an initial capital as we write the name of God or Christ. Thus it is not only understood but is intended to be understood as the proper name of the third person of the Trinity.

We have no occasion and no disposition to enter here upon any consideration of the confessedly mysterious and inexplicable doctrine of the Trinity, but must be permitted to remark that there is no necessity for understanding the term "Holy Ghost" here as in any way importing the third person of the Trinity if that doctrine is true, or a person in

Digitized by Google

any sense whatever, unless it is predicated of God. The original might as well have been translated "the holy spirit," and, written without capitals as it is in some other passages, would have suggested the thought of a person to no one, but have been understood to signify "the spirit of God."

There is indeed what seems an insuperable objection to interpreting this term especially here as designating the third person of the Trinity. For how on that ground are we to account for the fact which lies upon the very face of the passage that the blasphemy of the Holy Ghost is an infinitely graver sin than the like offense against the Son or even the Father? Though all of one substance and so said to be of equal eternity, power, and glory, Trinitarians have always recognized an order of relation and dignity that must not be denied or ignored. If we may accept the statement of Bishop Bull, and there is no higher authority on the subject in the Protestant or even Catholic Christendom: "There is but one fountain or principle of divinity, God the Father, who only is αὐτόθεος, God of and from himself; the Son and Holy Ghost deriving their divinity from Him; the Son immediately from the Father, the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, or from the Father by the Son." [5]

Now under this definition of the Trinity it is obviously impossible that the Holy Ghost should in any respect be superior to the Son or take precedence of Him, and hence the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost cannot be a greater sin than the like offense against the Son. And yet our Lord himself expressly affirms in the very passage we are considering that "whosoever speaketh against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven." Nor do the various attempted explanations of so startling a declaration at all relieve the difficulty. It avails nothing to say as is commonly done that the humble form in which the Savior appeared, veiling his divinity in poor humanity, excused the caviling and blasphem-

[5] The Doctrine of the Catholic Church for the first three ages concerning the Blessed Trinity.

Digitized by Google

ing Jews, because our Lord never rested his claim to credence on any merely outward and personal grounds. He always appealed to his miraculous works as the divine attestations of his being sent of God and proclaiming God's truth. "My doctrine is not mine," he said, "but His that sent me. If I do not the works of my Father believe me not; but if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me and I in Him. The works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me." Nicodemus clearly recognized the principle involved when he said, "Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God, for no man can do these miracles that thou doest except God be with him." On this ground the Church has securely stood for eighteen centuries and will stand to the end of time.

But this difficulty reaches still farther. If we adopt the popular interpretation of the Holy Ghost here, we not only make the third person of the Trinity superior to the second, but virtually maintain that blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is a sin of infinitely deeper dye than blasphemy against God, the Father! Our Lord expressly declares that "all manner of sin and blasphemy," or as another Gospel has it, "all sins and blasphemies wherewithsoever men shall blaspheme, shall be forgiven," with the sole exception of the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. This necessarily includes blasphemy against God, the Father as well as the Son, and exhibits the Holy Ghost as the only person in the Godhead, who may not be blasphemed with hope of pardon. Such a view of the transcendent sanctity of the Holy Ghost is certainly what was never laid down by any Council, and is found in no Creed. It inverts the order always believed to exist among the persons of the Trinity and places first what has uniformly in the Trinitarian theology been acknowledged as the last. Nor does it at all meet the difficulty to say, as is commonly done, that the Father, Son and Holy Ghost are in all respects equal, because our Lord himself for some reason affirms that blaspheming the Son is a sin far inferior to that of

Digitized by Google

blaspheming the Holy Ghost; nay, goes farther and by plain implication teaches that it is a very little thing to blaspheme "the fountain of divinity," God the Father, which shall be forgiven, while blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is irremissible. It is something amazing to see how commentators, who have given sufficient attention to the subject to perceive this difficulty, flounder about in their attempts to explain what is obviously inexplicable. Give what importance they may to the Holy Ghost, assign it whatever office they please in the work of salvation, it cannot be greater or better than God the Father, from whom both it and the salvation it works out proceed. When therefore we hear commentators like Calvin expressly saying: "If one simply blasphemes against God, he is not denied the hope of pardon; but to those who blaspheme the Holy Spirit God is said never to be gracious,"[6] we are tempted to ask: Who or what, then, is the Holy Ghost, that such greatness or sanctity, overtopping that of God himself, should be ascribed to it?

But as already observed there is no occasion for understanding the Holy Ghost here as the third person of the Trinity, or a person at all. Of the ninety times or more in which the Greek πνεῦμα ἅγιον occurs in the New Testament there are many instances certainly in which no scholar, unless under the influence of some chronic prejudice, would pretend to find any allusion to such a third person. It often means simply "the spirit of God." The two terms indeed are equivalents of each other. Thus when Luke says "the Holy Spirit," or as in our English version, "the Holy Ghost" descended on Jesus at his baptism, Matthew calls it "the Spirit of God." So when Mark reports the words of our Lord to his apostles, cautioning them to take no thought when brought before rulers what they should say, "For it is not ye that speak but the Holy Ghost," Matthew again declares it to be "the Spirit of your Father." Indeed, if one will carefully examine the subject he will soon be convinced that

[6] Si quis in Deum simpliciter blasphemaverit, illi non negatur spes veniae; contumeliosis in Spiritum, Deus nunquam propitius fore dicitur. *Comment in loco.*

Digitized by Google

the several terms, "Holy Spirit," "Spirit of God," and "the Spirit" simply, all signify the same thing and are merely interchangeable forms of expression, just as Jesus, Jesus Christ, Christ Jesus, our Lord and our Savior are but different ways of indicating the same person. It hardly need be said that these different terms signifying the divine Spirit appear more frequently in the New Testament, as might be expected from the nature of the Christion religion, than they do in the Old. Yet we hear David in his distress and penitence crying out: "Take not thy holy spirit from me;" and Isaiah tells us the Israelites "vexed God's holy spirit." But if the modes of speech changed, the thought and doctrine remained the same. When Peter tells us that "holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," what is it more than the Levites confessed ages before, saying, "Many years thou didst forbear them (their fathers) and testified against them by thy spirit in the prophets?" And in how many instances in the Old Testament are we told that God put his spirit, or his spirit came, upon individuals and made them prophets, or fitted them miraculously for becoming his ministers and doing his service. Thus he took of the spirit that was on Moses and gave it to the seventy elders. So the Spirit of God came upon Balaam and he prophesied, and in like manner upon Saul and Saul's servants and others.

Then we must not forget that the age of Christ and his apostles was preeminently an age of miracles and miraculous gifts. Prophecy had long foretold that upon the promised Messiah and his followers and servants God would put his spirit and so prepare them for the work they were called to perform. From the time of John the Baptist to that of Pentecost, there was a succession of inspired utterances respecting the gift of the holy spirit, the spirit of God, with which the apostles and early Christians were to be endowed. John the Baptist declared that while he baptized with water, the Messiah whose herald he was should baptize "with the holy spirit and fire." And the Lord himself frequently spoke of this coming baptism and promised it as the παράκλητος, not *comforter*,

Digitized by Google

merely as in our translation but ASSISTANT, HELPER, in a far broader and deeper sense. It was "the spirit of truth" that was to guide them into all truth. It was to bring to their remembrance whatever Christ had taught them. It was to impart to them clear moral perceptions and the power of teaching. It was to implant and foster in their hearts all Christian graces. It was to give them, as the Savior had promised, a mouth and wisdom which no artifices of the enemy could gainsay or resist. In a word this *paraclete*, this spirit of truth, was to prepare them, as nothing else could, for the work of preaching the gospel and evangelizing the world. But this divine gift, it should be observed, was not conferred during the Savior's life, and for some reason which perhaps we can not apprehend, could be enjoyed only after he had been glorified and entered the Holy of Holies. "It is expedient for you," said he, "that I go away; for if I go not away the *helper* will not come to you. But if I go away I will send him to you." The last words of our Savior before his ascension were, "Behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you; but tarry ye in Jerusalem till ye be endued with power from on high."

This promise of the Father was fulfilled on the day of Pentecost when "cloven tongues as of fire" appeared to the expectant apostles, "and they were all filled with the holy spirit and began to speak with other tongues as the (same) spirit gave them utterance." Peter in his discourse on that memorable day assured the Jews that this diffusion of the holy spirit had been foretold by the prophet Joel, saying: "It shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh — " not on Jews alone, but on all mankind —" and on my servants and handmaidens I will pour of my spirit and they shall prophesy."

What reason is there in all this for thinking this divine spirit a person as a part of a Trinity? On the contrary it was God's own spirit, the spirit of truth, the spirit of divine grace and power and love. In a word it was God himself — for he is a spirit — imparting divine direction and force

Digitized by Google

to those whose hearts he had entered and where for the highest purposes he had taken up his abode. It was the same spirit that had inspired the father of John, that animated the pious Anna, and led the waiting Simeon to enter the temple and take in his arms the infant Jesus, rejoicing that he could now depart in peace since he had seen God's salvation. It was the same spirit as had made John the Baptist the forerunner of the Messiah, and was given to Jesus himself without measure and by which he wrought all his miracles. "The Father," said he, "doeth the works."

But this is not all. The very discourse in which is found the passage we are considering furnishes abundant evidence that the popular interpretation of the holy spirit here cannot be the true one. In his refutation of the calumny of the blaspheming Jews, Christ, among other things said: "But if I by the spirit of God—" Luke calls it *the finger of God* —"cast out demons, then the kingdom of God is come upon you. Or else how shall one enter a strong man's house and spoil his goods except he first bind the strong man? and then he will spoil his goods. He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad," and then follows the passage we are considering: "Wherefore I say unto you, All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men; but the the blasphemy against the spirit shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of Man it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever speaketh a word against the holy spirit it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the world to come."

Now it requires no argument to prove that by "the holy spirit" in verse 32, nothing more is meant than is expressed by "the spirit" in verse 31. The New Testament has very many passages in which "the spirit" imports all that the "holy spirit" can signify; and the connection here shows that both are equivalents of "the spirit of God" to which Christ ascribed his miracles and which in this very discourse he had mentioned only three verses before. If the drift of

Digitized by Google

our Savior's remarks here has any significance it is clear that blasphemy against the spirit and speaking against the holy spirit express the same action, and that it consisted in ascribing the miraculous work of the spirit of God to the devil.[7] And it is too obvious to require proof that to blaspheme the spirit of God is to blaspheme God since whatever is said or done by his spirit is said or done by himself. And so Zwingli explains it. In his view the holy spirit here is *ipsa Deitas aut Deus ipse*, "the very Deity or God himself." It is certainly nothing unknown or uncommon for the sacred writers to interchange the name God and holy spirit as importing the same thing, just as David and every body else speaks of his own soul, not as a second person or second self, but as himself in person. When Peter, for instance, accuses Ananias of his fatal sin, he in one verse expresses it as lying to the Holy Ghost or holy spirit, and in the next as lying to God. Clearly the apostle was not thinking of two different persons but one and the same. So in all that large class of passages in which the holy spirit is said to do anything, or to command, permit, or forbid another's doing, what is it but that God himself is the sole agent and that whatever is thus ascribed to the spirit must be regarded as his personal act?

The blasphemy against the holy spirit is therefore not against the third person of an imaginary Trinity, but against the one living and true God; and it is this vital fact that gives to this sin its enormity and obviously exceptional character. As Eli said to his sons: "If one man sin against another the judge shall judge him: but if a man sin against the Lord, who shall entreat for him?" All forms of sin may in some sense be said to be against God, since they are contrary to his will and violations of his law, but blaspheming his name, or maligning his work, especially such as Christ was performing in his name and by his spirit, is an offense of a widely different character and deserves a far severer retribution.

[7] "They considered the Devil as God," says Athanasius, "and held the true and living God as no better than demons . . They blasphemed against the spirit, saying that not God but Beelzebub did these things." *Epist. iv., ad Serapion.*

Digitized by Google

This interpretation of the holy spirit, as is readily seen, relieves the subject at once from the insuperable difficulties that confront every attempt to explain the words of our Lord in accordance with Trinitarianism. If the holy spirit is the spirit of God, then blasphemy against it is blasphemy against God, which accounts for its so far transcending all other sins.

II. We now pass to consider our second question, namely, How shall we interpret the declaration that this blasphemy against the holy spirit, or in other words against God himself, shall not be forgiven? By most orthodox commentators these words of our Lord are taken literally, and, as is their custom with all passages of Scripture concerning the judgments of God, are taken in the fullest, strongest sense they can possibly bear. This sin is therefore absolutely unpardonable. Other sins may be forgiven, but this never! And for this opinion have we not, they ask, the express declaration of Christ himself? Could words be plainer or more definite? To deny or doubt this, what is it but to deny or doubt the knowledge or the veracity of our divine Master? — It is an old Protestant maxim that "the meaning of the Bible is the Bible," which clearly implies that the language of the Scriptures, like all other human languages, does not always mean what it seems to say. Were it otherwise, not only would this passage contradict the whole teaching and spirit of the gospel, but many others would strangely mislead if they did not shock our minds. Then it would plainly appear, as the Romanists maintain, that Christ at the institution of the eucharist held his own broken body in the form of some pieces of bread in his hands, and administered his own blood under the semblance of wine in the cup! Then Peter would be a literal stone, Christ a door and God himself a great rock in a weary land. The Bible is one of the last books to admit of a uniform rigidly literal interpretation.

It needs but the slightest inspection of our Lord's words here to recognize in this utterance two distinct assertions, each the contradictory of the other. In the first there is a positive universal affirmation — "all sins and blasphemies

Digitized by Google

shall be forgiven unto men;" and in the second a positive particular denial—"the blasphemy against the holy spirit shall not be forgiven unto men." Both of these assertions cannot be literally true. If all manner of sins and blasphemies shall be forgiven, it is certain there can be no unpardonable sin; and on the other hand if the blasphemy against the holy spirit is absolutely irremissible it is equally certain that all sins and blasphemy shall not be forgiven. To this broad statement there is one exception. Then it deserves the attention of our literal interpreters that these contradictory affirmations are both singularlarly and equally positive and unconditional. If there is any force in words literally interpreted nothing can be clearer than that all sins and blasphemies shall be forgiven except alone the blasphemy against the holy spirit. There is then but one sin that is really damnable; all others are not only pardonable but are assured of pardon! Words cannot be more definite or express; and our orthodox friends should take notice that if the blasphemy against the holy spirit is absolutely unpardonable even under the deepest and most genuine repentance, as they generally claim, all other sins and blasphemies are promised pardon without any repentance at all. The declaration that all other sins and blasphemies shall be forgiven to men is quite as decisive as that the blasphemy against the holy spirit shall not be forgiven to them, and if we are to abide rigidly by the word without the exercise of our reason, it necessarily follows that there is only one sin that shall not be pardoned. And so Augustine understood the case, and this led him after various conceits and changes of opinion to fix perhaps at last upon *final impenitence* as the blasphemy against the holy spirit, in which as in other things this influential Father has been followed by hosts of subsequent teachers. Yet, as every one can see, this is wholly against all proprieties of language and all the probabilities of the case. It is impossible to read the whole account with which this passage stands connected without perceiving that the blasphemy of the holy spirit must be some specific act, which, if not the very act of the Pharisees,

Digitized by Google

must be analogous to it and naturally suggested by it. To say with Augustine that "the impenitent heart is the blasphemy against the holy spirit," and this because the impenitent heart speaks against God's grace and his gratuitous gift in the gospel, is little better than sheer nonsense in the light of his theory of religion, in accordance with which God has no grace for the finally impenitent, and never really made them any offer of a gratuitous gift. They are the reprobates, whom God never loved, and never elected to salvation or proposed in any way to benefit and bless. Would the venerable Father have such outcasts exercise a useless repentance, or seek to recommend themselves to God by believing a lie, and ascribing to him a goodness he never manifested and an extent of grace he never proposed?

Augustine was naturally led to this definition of the sin against the holy spirit by the simple fact that he regarded it as absolutely unpardonable; but in common with many of the Fathers, he believed no sin beyond the reach of pardon on due repentance, and during the life of the sinner he maintained that repentance was always possible for every form of sin. Hence the only unpardonable sin he could admit was the sin of dying unrepentant. That alone closed the door of mercy; that, in defiance of Scripture and common sense, was the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit! It was a maxim with him that we are to despair of no man's salvation as long as he lives. "This impenitence, or impenitent heart," said he, "cannot be determined as long as one lives in the flesh. . . To-day one is a pagan; how do you know whether he may not be a Christian to-morrow! One is an unbelieving Jew to-day; what if to-morrow he believes in Christ? One is to-day a heretic; what if to-morrow he accepts the Catholic faith? To-day one is a schismatic; what if to-morrow he embraces the Catholic unity? What if those whom you recognize as in any kind of error, and condemn as the most desdesperate, repent before they close this life, and find eternal life in the future?"[8] In reality, Augustine did not believe

[8] Sermo LXXI. Migne's Patrol. Lat. XXXVIII., 456.

Digitized by Google

in any specific sin that is unpardonable. In his view, all sins whatever might be repented of during the present life, and consequently be forgiven. It was only when the sinner persisted unrepentant till death, that his offence became unpardonable, and it was a matter of absolute indifference whether he had given himself up to petty thieving, murder, or blaspheming the name of God, or had merely neglected the offers and opportunities of grace. Dying impenitent sealed his damnation.

In point of fact, there is no one who, whatever may be pretended, interprets this passage literally. No one believes that "all sins shall be forgiven unto men, and blasphemies wherewithsoever they shall blaspheme," and least of all that this shall be done unconditionally and without due repentance. No one believes that there is only one single sin, as that of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, which exposes one to damnation. Yet interpreted literally, all this is expressly taught here. It is only what our Saviour says of the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit that must be taken simply according to the letter, and carried out to the greatest extravagance.

Yet it is interesting to observe that in all the better ages of the Church this extravagance has provoked in many thoughtful minds great distrust, if not absolute disbelief. Origen and the whole ancient school of Universalists necessarily rejected this interpretation. But such rejection was by no means confined to them. The most learned and the most orthodox of the Fathers did not accept it, and refused to believe that any sin excluded the transgressor from repentance, or transcended the forgiving mercy of God. Athanasius, for instance, whose orthodoxy none will question, not only rejected what is called the literal interpretation, but declares that if the words are so taken, they will not only lead us into monstrous errors, but make the Lord contradict himself. "If whosoever speaks a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him, how," he asks, "does the same Son say, 'Whosoever denies me before men, him will I deny before the angels of God'?" So on the other side he adds: "It must be observed

Digitized by Google

that Christ does not say 'It shall not be forgiven to him who blasphemes and repents,' but 'to him who blasphemes and continues in blasphemy.' For if repentance is genuine, ἀξιόλογος, it washes away all sin."[9] In this opinion Chrysostom quite agreed with Athanasius. Having quoted the words, "shall not be forgiven," he asks how they are to be understood, "for," says he, "even this [blasphemy] was forgiven to the repentant; for many certainly who said such things believed afterwards, and all was forgiven them."[10] Cyril, archbishop of Alexandria, after saying that those who blaspheme the Holy Spirit, incur a continuous, διηνεκῆ, punishment, adds, "Nevertheless, forgiveness is granted to the penitent through the grace of the Holy Spirit. But Christ, wishing to show the greatness of the sin, spoke in this way, οὕτως εἶπεν, since there is no sin that is unpardonable with God to such as truly and worthily repent."[11]

It is a fact not a little remarkable that while individuals have found occasion to say much about an "unpardonable sin," the Church in all its branches has steadily maintained that all sins are pardonable, and that in the gospel abundant provision has been made for the forgiveness and salvation of all mankind. The Roman Church claims that to the apostles, and eminently to Peter as the prince of the apostles, was given the power of binding and loosing, that is, of forgiving or condemning sinners of every class and crime. That Church knows no unpardonable sin, provided the sinner deeply repents, makes confession, and such satisfaction as is possible, and brings forth the fruits of Christian living. It would naturally seem that this is wholly inconsistent with the words of our Saviour before us. "Behold," said Bp. Odo, of the twelfth century, "the Gospel on one hand proclaims the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit utterly irremissible, and on the other the Church, the strongest pillar of the truth, preaches repentance for every sin. On one side, the Gospel in three places declares that a certain sin cannot be at all forgiven, while, on the

[9] Fragmenta in Matt. xii. 32. Migne's Patrol. Græca. XXVII. 1383, 1386.
[10] Migne's Patrol. Græca. LVII.449. [11] Ibid. LXXII. 409.

Digitized by Google

other, the Church promises sure pardon for every one through repentance. It would be execrable to contradict the Gospel, and who dares to charge the Church with falsehood."[12] Long before the time of Odo, Jerome had met this difficulty in a practical form, for it appears that in his day instances were not wanting in which both presbyters and bishops had been restored to their offices after blaspheming the Holy Spirit, whatever the act was that was so called.[13] It has been a constant doctrine of the Roman Church, and indeed of all churches, if we except the Reformed or Calvinistic, that Christ died for the whole human race, and so made, as it often expressed it, not only a sufficient, but abundant, aye, superabundant satisfaction for the sins of the whole world. The New Testament, it need not be said, teaches with great clearness that where sin abounded, grace did much more abound. Pope Clement V. went so far as to affirm that one drop of the blood of Christ is sufficient for the redemptiou of the whole human race. It necessarily follows that it is sufficient to secure forgiveness for the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. The Lutheran Church in like manner teaches that Christ became "a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but all actual sins of the world." The English Church affirms that "Christ, by his one oblation of himself once offered, has made a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world." The Synod of Dort, with all its Calvinism, declares that "the death of the Son of God is of infinite worth and value, and sufficient to expiate the sins of the whole world." The Westminster Confession, now practically the creed of the Presbyterian, the Orthodox Congregationalist, and the Calvinistic Baptist Churches of Christendom, asserts that "as there is no sin so small but it deserves damnation, so there is no sin so great that it can bring damnation upon those who truly repent." These declarations seem to cover the whole ground, and it needs no argument to show that the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit is included in these

[12] De blasphemia in Spiritum sanctum. Migne's Patrol. Lat. CLX. 1114.

[13] Et quomodo quidam nostrorum episcopos atque presbyteros post blasphemiam Spiritus sancti in suum recipiunt gradum? Comment *in loco*.

Digitized by Google

broad and all-comprehensive statements, so that on the part of God there is no obstacle to His granting forgiveness to this gravest of sins as well as all others.

But it is suggested that the difficulty or impossibility in the case of this sin does not rest upon any insufficiency in the divine grace or power, but solely on the obstinacy and persistence of the sinner in his sin. He who has blasphemed the Holy Spirit, it is said, has taken a step which he will never retrace, and performed an evil deed of which he will never repent! It would be a sufficient reply to this, to ask, Who knows that a human soul has ever reached, or ever can reach, a point in evil-doing beyond which repentance and reformation are impossible? And were this common but naked assumption a settled truth, instead of an unsupported hypothesis, a wild conjecture, how would this blasphemy differ from all other sins?

This interpretation, then, venerable and popular as it may be, breaks down at every point. Starting upon the ground of rigid literalism, it abandons it at once so far as regards the unconditional forgiveness of all other sins and blasphemies, and, giving up, one after another, every position it has taken, it finally concedes that there is no sin irremissible *per se*, and that the only basis upon which the doctrine rests is that the human will *may* attain permanence in evil, as Rev. Joseph Cook has undertaken to demonstrate, and forever resist all the forces of the divine government!

There is another interpretation possessing greater claims to being literal, which deserves more attention than has generally been accorded it. We have already seen that the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit was not a new one that first appeared after the promulgation of the Gospel. On the contrary, it existed and was the subject of special legislation under the Mosaic economy. There it was an unpardonable sin — unpardonable in the sense that it was severely and surely punished. The guilty party was put to death by stoning under the hand of the whole congregation. Dr. Adam Clarke says: "The sin here spoken of by our Lord ranks high in the

Digitized by Google

catalogue of presumptuous sins for which there was no forgiveness under the Mosaic dispensation. . . . The punishment for presumptuous sins under the Jewish law to which our Lord evidently alludes, certainly did not extend to the *damnation of the soul*, though the body was destroyed; therefore I think that though there was no such forgiveness to be extended to this crime as to absolve the man from the punishment of temporal death, yet, on repentance, mercy might be extended to the soul: and every sin may be repented of under the Gospel dispensation."

Now, although this is certainly not the proper exposition of the passage, it is a hundred times more probable than the one before exhibited. It has all the advantage of being literal which that unjustly claims, and besides has many circumstances in its favor which that has not.

As might naturally be expected, many theologians, shocked and outraged by the harsh and extravagant, not to say palpably unscriptural character of the popular interpretation, have felt themselves forced to adopt milder ones. Some have assumed that the language of our Saviour here was uttered under some excitement, a feeling of indignation, and is therefore stronger than would otherwise have been employed, and hence, as Lehman says, "are not to be taken in their strictest sense, nor according to their primary and proper meaning."[14] But this little accords with the character of our Lord, and his uniform steady poise and self-possession under the greatest provocations. Bp. Latimer calls it "a vehement manner of speaking in the Scriptures," and Cyril of Alexandria, as we have seen, suggests that our Lord expressed himself in this strong manner in order to show the greatness of the sin. St. Chrysostom evidently considered it only a comparative expression, saying, "that this blasphemy was beyond all other sins unpardonable."[15] The reason he assigns why it was so is that

[14] De Peccato Blasphemiae in Spiritum Sanctum. Halae. 1832. Kuinoel takes a similar view: "Loquitur Jesus h. l. animo commoto neque adeo verba *οὐκ αφεθήσεται* nimis premenda. Comment. *in loco.*

[15] *Ὅτι ὑπὲρ πάντα αὕτη ἡ ἁμαρτία ασύγγνωστος.* Homil. XLI.

Digitized by Google

the Jews did not know Jesus, that is, did not apprehend his true dignity and character, while they had had sufficient experience in respect to the Holy Spirit, since the prophets had been inspired by it, and all had full knowledge of it in the Old Testament. Many others take the words in this comparative sense. Cornelius à Lapide, who expresses the general Catholic opinion, says it is "with difficulty and rarely remitted. . . Nevertheless the blasphemer does not shut the hand of God, but that He may presently have compassion upon him, however unworthy, and convert him, as he converted St. Paul, who confesses, 1 Tim. i. 13, that he had been a blasphemer of God."[16] Bp. Latimer, Kuinoel, and others speak in a similar manner, and, as we have already seen, many doubt or deny that there is any sin that is absolutely unpardonable. Richard a St. Victor tells us with singular frankness that there were some in his time who confessed that they did not know what this blasphemy was; nevertheless there were others who boldly affirmed that this kind of sin was utterly inexpiable, so that any one who had once fallen into it could by no means be saved; while there were others and those men of the highest authority who did not believe there was any sin inexpiable unless [persistent] impenitence rendered it irremediable. "There is no sin," says Latimer, "so great but God may forgive it, and doth forgive it to the repentant heart, though it sounds that it shall never be forgiven." "*Vix condonabitur*," says Kuinoel, "it shall with difficulty be forgiven; scarcely shall it escape the severest and most certain divine punishment." Yet he adds, "these words must not be pressed too far; they are spoken *populariter*, after the manner of the people."

Among the older English commentators, Hammond, Gilpin, Bp. Pearce, and the like, the language of our Lord here carries no thought of an absolute impossibility of forgiveness, but only the greater difficulty of attaining it,—and this difficulty does not lie on the side of God, but only in the sinner's greater depravity and hardness of heart. For, as Dr. Hammond

[16] Comment. *in loco*

Digitized by Google

expresses it, there is no pardon for this sin "without particular repentance and reformation." "Nobody can suppose," says Gilpin, "considering the whole tenor of Christianity, that there can be any sin which, on repentance, may not be forgiven. This, therefore, seems only a strong way of expressing the difficulty of such repentance, and the impossibility of forgiveness without it." "With God," says Bp. Pearce, "there is no sin that is unpardonable." Theophylact was singular in the opinion that the Jews did not need repentance for their calumny of Christ, since they saw him in his humanity and living like other men, but when they blasphemed the Holy Spirit in the miraculous works of Christ, they could not hope for pardon except through repentance.

It is remarkable that while so many saw clearly that these words cannot be interpreted literally, so few should have recognized the true ground on which such a conviction rests. They acknowledge that the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit was somehow only relatively worse than the blasphemy against the Saviour, but they failed to seize the principle which makes it so. The learned Grotius seems to be the only man who apprehended the truth here. "This form of speech," he says, "is a common Hebraism: the Jews often said, *This shall be*, and *That shall not be*, not intending to affirm *absolutely* that the first *should be*, and of course not affirming that the last should *not be*, but merely to show that the last was much more unlikely or difficult than the first." And hence he interprets the words before us as meaning that all other sins and blasphemies may be more readily forgiven than the blasphemy against the Spirit of God.

The Scriptures exhibit various examples of this form of speech which deserve a moment's attention. Take as an instance the words of the prophet Hosea: "I desired mercy and not sacrifice," which our Saviour repeated and enforced on two or three occasions. What these words clearly teach is that God *prefers* mercy, — meaning, probably, moral goodness, benevolence, and all social virtues, — to sacrifice. To assert that God did not desire sacrifice would be to utter a falsehood,

Digitized by Google

or charge God with something worse than hypocrisy. We cannot open the Old Testament without seeing that sacrifice made an important part of the service He required of the Jewish people under that covenant. It was prescribed as a daily offering in their ritual, and was demanded on a thousand particular occasions. Yet if we interpret the words of the prophet literally, we make him say what contradicts the most obvious truth; but understand them as they were spoken, and as the Hebrews apprehended their meaning, and all is truthful and plain. God desired sacrifice, or He would not have commanded it, but He desired moral goodness in His people still more.

Take another instance: Our Saviour, in his sermon on the Mount, says, "Lay not up for yourselves treasure upon earth . . but lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven." Did he teach that men are not to lay up treasure upon earth? Would he have all his disciples cease to labor, or would he have them squander the fruits of their industry? It needs no argument to show what would be the results of acting in conformity with this teaching literally understood. The business of the world would stop at once. No more churches would be built, nor hospitals founded, nor schools endowed, nor missionary enterprises carried on, nor common charities administered. Christendom would soon have no resources on which to draw for the most sacred purposes, for there would be no treasure laid up upon earth, the world's only treasure would be in heaven, to which the people in their poverty and worthlessness might look, but would hardly deserve. This, then, is clearly not what Christ designed to teach. What we should learn from his words is that it is better to lay up treasure in heaven than on earth; better because there it is permanent and abiding, and because our heart will be where its treasure is. But he, who commanded his disciples to gather up the fragments that nothing be lost; whose whole religion encourages industry, temperance, economy, and every virtue that is favorable to the production of wealth as well as godliness; could never forbid the laying up of treasure for noble uses,

Digitized by Google

the service of God and the great interests of humanity. That some men do accumulate fortunes which they do not know how to use, is a thing to be deplored, but is only one of the incidents of human weakness or wickedness.

Here is another instance of this form of speech. Our Saviour, in his great prophecy of the approaching overthrow of Jerusalem and the Jewish state, had graphically sketched the signs that were to precede that wonderful event, and ended with the declaration which must have amazed his hearers, and is even now disbelieved by the great mass of the Christian world, that "This generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled"; and as if to confirm his own truth, and carry conviction to the hearts of his apostles, he added, "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away." It was as if he had said, "My words are true, so true that heaven and earth will sooner pass away than that these sayings of mine shall fail." It was not his purpose to teach that this material universe, the heavens and the earth, are temporal and short-lived things, but rather by appealing to their steadfastness to give assurance of his declarations. All saw and felt how fixed and permanent they were, and yet, said Christ, they are more likely to vanish and be annihilated, than that these words I have now uttered should prove fallacious.

In these several examples we recognize the principle of this form of speech. One thing is affirmed, and another is denied, and both appear to be positive. Yet they so relate to each other, they are so connected that the import of both is essentially modified, and neither can be properly understood only as it is compared with the other. In the passage before us, we have two pairs of this kind of utterances. In the first, it is said that, "All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men; but the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit shall not be forgiven unto men." In the second the same thought is repeated with more specific application: "Whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him." Now no one believes that

Digitized by Google

Christ meant to teach that "all manner of sin and blasphemy shall," without repentance and faith, or any condition whatever, be forgiven to men; or that "whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of Man, it shall [unconditionally] be forgiven him." This would not only contradict the whole spirit of the Christian religion, but the express declaration of the Scriptures. But if these statements can not be taken literally and without modification, by what canon of exegesis are we to interpret the corresponding statements on the other side of the comparison? For, let it be observed again, the words of Christ are no more definite or positive on the one side than they are on the other; he no more plainly affirms that the blasphemy of the Holy Spirit shall not be forgiven, than he does that all other sins and blasphemies shall be forgiven. If this is not clearly true (and it is confessedly false), so neither is the other member of the sentence to be accepted in the common arbitrary way as expressing a positive and unqualified truth. The whole sentence taken together, each member modifying the meaning of the other, is equivalent to this: All other sins and blasphemies are more readily forgiven to men than the blasphemy against tne Holy Spirit. This is the gravest of human offenses, and calls for the deepest repentance, or deserves the condignest punishment. But it belongs to the same category as all other sins, is committed by a being of the same order, and differs from other sins only in degree. And since there is no comparison between an infinite sin and a finite one, so this cannot be infinite and deserve an infinite punishment — infinite in duration, since it cannot be infinite in degree — unless the whole category to which it belongs is infinite also. And this brings us to the doctrine of Beza, the great Calvinistic commentator, and the famous school to which he belonged, that all sins are equal, and that the least thought of the smallest sin deserves the punishment of eternal death a thousand times over! President Edwards adopted the same opinion, and defended it by the same arguments. But to talk after this of degrees of criminality, as these great men do, and as all men must, is simply to ignore their own principles and

Digitized by Google

to ask their readers kindly to forget that they ever held them. As all mankind constitute one family, so all sins committed by men belong to one order, and are necessarily all finite or all infinite. If they are infinite, the fact makes badly against the Apostle, who in his ignorance declared that "where sin abounded, grace did much more abound," which must be impossible, and would be attended with the farther inconvenience that God himself can not overcome and put away the least of the world's multiplied offenses!

III. We come finally to our third question, namely, What is the import of the words, *Neither in this world, nor in the world to come?* To all English-speaking people, as everybody knows, these words are equivalent to "neither in this present life, nor in the future, immortal state," or to "never at all, either here or hereafter." And connected as they are with the preceding declaration that the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit shall not be forgiven, they naturally intensify the thought and conviction that this sin is wholly beyond all pardon, both for time and eternity. Our revised New Testament slightly improves the reading of our common version by translating the words: "neither in this world nor in that which is to come," and by placing in the margin the word *age* as an equivalent of *world*. Whether this will greatly help the common English reader is more than problematical. The note in the margin will, in the great majority of cases, be unnoticed, and when observed will rather mystify than enlighten the reader, and the notion generally drawn from the common version will still maintain its place, wrong as it may be. How far is this warranted by the original?

There are two words in the Greek New Testament translated, both in the common and the revised version, by the single word "world." One is κόσμος, and the other αἰων. The first has in the New Testament two definitions, namely, 1. the material world, and, 2. the people of the world; as when Jesus said, "The field is the world, ὁ κόσμος," and "God so loved the world," τον κόσμον. Αἰων on the other hand always involves the notion of *time*, and belongs to that large class of

Digitized by Google

words which are singularly elastic, and draw their force rather from the subject with which they are associated, than bear it in themselves. Originally it seems to mean the time or period of human life, and thence comes to express the time or duration of anything to which it may be applied. It is the Greek word which the Septuagint habitually employs to translate the Hebrew *Olam* which exhibits the same elasticity, and is equally applicable to the life of a slave, the duration of the Jewish priesthood and the whole Mosaic law, and the existence of God himself. That it does not mean *eternity*, as Dr. Adam Clarke and others assert, is obvious from the fact that it often appears in the plural, *αἰῶνες*, and also by its being multiplied into itself as in *τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰωνῶν*, since, as Dr. Tayler Lewis well observes, "the conception of absolute endlessness in *Olam* or *αἰών* would clearly have prevented it."[17] Besides our Saviour often speaks of the end of the *αἰών*, as in the phrase *συντέλεια του αἰῶνος*, translated in our common version, "the end of the world," (and unfortunately not corrected in the revised version), which to nineteen out of every twenty readers carries the notion of the end of this material world, which our Adventists are constantly looking for, and which the great mass of orthodox people have been taught to expect as confidently as the Adventists themselves, but only at a more distant date. That the New Testament teaches this doctrine or properly gives it any countenance at all is more than doubtful, while it is certain that no proof of it is furnished by the use of *αἰών* here or elsewhere in the New Testament. The whole conception seems foreign to Jewish thought in that age.

In the time of Christ the Jews were accustomed to divide their historic life into two great periods, namely, the time under the Law, and that under the Messiah. The former they called *αἰὼν ὄντος*, *this age*, and the latter *αἰὼν μέλλων*, *the age about to come*. It needs no argument to show that they were expecting this latter and better age about the time of

[17] See his excursus on "Olamic or Æonian words in Scripture," at Eccles. i. 3, in Lange's Commentary.

Digitized by Google

our Saviour's advent. This is made obvious on almost every page of the Gospels, and is expressly affirmed by Josephus. This age of light and blessing is known in the New Testament as "the kingdom of heaven," "the kingdom of God," and "the kingdom of Christ," all expressing the notion of a divine reign, a government under God by principles of eternal truth and love. When John the Baptist appeared, he began his ministry by proclaiming this kingdom "at hand." In like manner Christ himself announced it as near, and his apostles were taught to preach the same gospel of the kingdom. Some, we are told, during the ministry of Christ "supposed that the kingdom of God was about to appear immediately." [18] But though near, it was not to be introduced in form and established in the world for several years yet. There was another coming of Christ, a second advent, quite different from the first, and with that second coming the kingdom of God was to appear. Let us not mistake what it was. It was not some outward, visible kingdom with its throne and crown, such as many have thought. It was Christianity, the Christian religion, in contradistinction to the religion of Moses. It was the New Jerusalem in opposition to the Old Jerusalem, the Church instead of the Temple and the Synagogue.

The line or point of time that separated these two institutions or these *ages*, is marked in the New Testament with sufficient accuracy. Though no one but the Father knew the day and hour when this grand event of the religious world was to take place, in the transition from the old economy or dispensation to the new, yet the Saviour repeatedly affirmed that it should occur within the generation in which he lived. In one very express passage, he said, "The Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels, and then shall he render to every man according to his deeds. Verily I say unto you, There be some of them that stand here, who shall in no wise taste of death," that is, shall not die, "till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom." [19] In another place, after mentioning many events that were to precede this second

[18] Luke xix. 11. [19] Matthew xvi. 27, 28.

Digitized by Google

coming "on the clouds of heaven with power and great glory," he added, "Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away till these things be accomplished. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away."[20] No one can have carefully read the Epistles without seeing that this event was very often in the thought of the apostles, and was made the ground of joyful hope and consolation. The early Christians were taught to look forward to it as a period of relief from the persecutions of the Jews and a "rest."

The old dispensation ended, then, and the new took its place at the overthrow of Jerusalem, when altar and priest, synagogue and temple, city and state, went down in a general ruin from which no restoration is possible, and Christianity, a religion fitted for all nations and all times, rose as the divinely appointed kingdom to rule and save the world. The simple meaning of the words, "Neither in this age nor in the age about to come," is, therefore, *neither under the law nor the gospel*, and the declaration may well be supposed to have been made to meet an opinion, then existing, that under the Messiah sin would be more leniently dealt with than it was under the law of Moses,— an opinion that our Saviour, on several occasions, took special pains to expose and correct. Even in his Sermon on the Mount he said, "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment: but I say unto you that every one that is angry with his brother shall be in danger of the judgment; and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council, and whosoever shall say, Moreh, shall be in danger of the Gehenna of fire."[21] It was not the purpose of the gospel to make sin less sinful, or punishments less severe, but to save men from sinning, and bring them into fellowship with God.

This interpretation of the words under consideration is no Universalist device, let it be observed, to avoid the plain meaning of Scripture, but a long recognized orthodox exposi-

[20] Matthew xxiv. 29, *et seq.* [21] Matthew v. 21, 22.

Digitized by Google

tion made by men with no sympathies for Universalism and against the whole current of vulgar prejudice. Bp. Pearce, more than a century ago, said on these words, "Rather, neither in this age, nor in the age to come: that is, neither iu this age, when the law of Moses subsists, nor in that, also, when the kingdom of heaven, which is at hand, shall succeed to it."[22] Dr. Adam Clarke in like manner says, "Though I follow the common translation, yet I am fully satisfied the meaning of the words is, neither in this dispensation, namely, the Jewish, nor in that which is to come, namely, the Chris tian. *Olam ha-ba*, the world to come is a constant phrase for the times of the Messiah in the Jewish writers."[23] In like manner Dr. Plumptre, one of the foremost scholars of Great Britain, and Professor of Divinity in King's College, London, says: "The distinction was hardly the same for our Lord's Jewish listeners as it has come to be with us. For them 'this world' — better, perhaps, *this age* — was the time before the coming of Christ: 'the age to come' was that which was to follow it. Our Lord thus stood on the boundary line of the two ages, that of the Law and the Prophets, and that of the Kingdom of Heaven."[24]

It may, perhaps, be thought by some that the language of Mark is still stronger than that of Matthew, and more decisive in favor of the popular opinion. He says, according to the revised version, "Whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit hath never forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin." The negative phrase here translated *never*, is, *ουκ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*, and will hardly be pretended to be stronger than Matthew's simple *not*, and on examination of the force of *αἰῶν* may not prove so strong. And as to the concluding words, "but is guilty of an eternal sin," though recommended on critical grounds, we would respectfully inquire what they mean, or may be supposed to mean. An eternal judgment or eternal punishment is an apprehensible term, but an eternal sin, meaning an endless sin, clearly needs explanation. An

[22] Comment. *in loco.* [23] Comment. *in loco.*

[24] Handy Commentary, edited by Bp. Ellicott, *in loco.*

Digitized by Google

endless sin differs widely from endless sinning, since the latter carries the notion of an endless series of sins, while the former would seem to imply one act of sin endlessly extended. Perhaps the word *sin* here may be understood with Kuinoel as meaning the *punishment* of sin, and so be equivalent to "judgment" in the common version. This reading obviously involves new difficulties without in any way strengthening the popular interpretation.

Looking back over the field we have traversed in this discussion, we find that these remarkable words were uttered by our Saviour but once during his ministry, and that they were never repeated, nor even alluded to by himself or by any of his apostles afterwards, a fact quite unaccountable on the supposition that the popular interpretation is the just one; that this interpretation contradicts one of the most obvious and important facts of the gospel, namely, that to the repentant and believing sinner pardon is universally promised; that the passage has always been regarded as exceptionally difficult of explanation, and difficult because it seems to teach that there is one absolutely unpardonable sin; that if the passage is literally interpreted it proves that there is but one sin properly damnable, while all others are unconditionally promised forgiveness; and finally that the whole series of difficulties by which the common interpretation is invested is met and solved by the simple exposition here given, and the passage brought into harmony with the whole current of New Testament teaching.

Article V.

The Atomic Theory: The Psychical Basis of Physics.

It was the good fortune of the writer, some years since, to improve an opportunity for rendering a slight service to the most eminent naturalist, at least in New England, then living. He repaid the humble favor with what was immeasurably

Digitized by Google

more valuable, contributing a generous part in a flow of conversation. The dialogue rapidly reached the question of the verity of certain essentials of Christian doctrine as held by all Protestants, and the significant comment was given, substantially to this effect: "Very good, possibly, *but belief is nothing but belief*."

The statement was not disputed, even in thought. It could not be, for its truth is self-evident. Certainly, belief is nothing but belief. So truth is nothing but truth. So virtue is nothing but virtue. So — to enter the material realm — earth, air and water are respectively nothing but earth, air and water. Of course, it was the intention of the distinguished scientist to imply something more than the platitude which his words affirmed. And no reader hesitates in determining his real meaning. He was assured in his own mind, that the matters upon which himself as a naturalist was accustomed to dwell were verified facts, and established deductions from facts; while the religionist, on the contrary, dealt with mere beliefs. The naturalist's realm was knowledge — verified, stable, unquestioned. The religionist's realm was faith; and the belief which "is nothing but belief" is, in that vital regard, to be distinguished from knowledge. In a word, the statement cited was the expression of a half-unconscious contempt for a mental realm which had in it, as he presumed, nothing verified, stable, unquestioned.

It is in the definition of the word that the specialist is relatively superficial in matters outside of his chosen realm. The specialist in geology is relatively superficial in astronomy. The specialist in astronomy is relatively superficial in geology. If a man is profound and equally profound in two or more spheres of research, he is not a specialist in either or in any one. To say that one is a specialist in religion is to say that he is relatively superficial in physics. The naturalist who, as such, is a specialist, is relatively superficial in theology — we say this in simply giving the term a definition. But it is evident that he who derides religious matters as "nothing but beliefs," and, in this regard, as in unhappy contrast

Digitized by Google

with science, is not particularly impressed with the consciousness that he is pronouncing very confidently upon the merits of a matter in respect of which he is "relatively superficial."

Evidently, it had not entered the thought of the great man whose words we have substantially reported, that the specialist in religion would so much as think of disputing his summary dictum. He meant no misrepresentation. He presumed that he but stated sententiously what theologians concede at the outset. Is not "faith" their distinctive word? Do they not characterize their convictions as beliefs? The implied depreciation, "nothing but belief," is, therefore, in the very postulates of the religionist. That any religionist should claim for the fundamentals of his teaching anything, in the matter of certitude, on a par with the fundamentals of science, was evidently not even suspected by the party to whom we have made particular reference.

It is essential to the end which this essay aims at, that the good faith in which the great man spoke shall be recognized. He meant no disrespect. He did not intend to belittle. His motive was at the farthest remove from intentional misrepresentation. When he, in meaning, said to the religionist, "My realm is Knowledge; your realm has nothing of the certitude which that word implies,—your realm is, as to its fundamentals, on a lower tier, for at best those fundamentals are but Beliefs,—he supposed that he but echoed the concession that is always ready upon the lips of religionists themselves.

The value of the particular instance described consists in the consideration that it reflects the attitude of an influential class of scientists at the present day—their attitude in regard to the essentials of religion. This statement is carefully phrased, and is not to be read as conceding more than it says. It must not be deemed equivalent to the notion that the attitude described is that of science itself. Were it this, it would indeed be fatal. Science is knowledge. It is true. Whatever it antagonizes is for that sufficient reason false. No faith, no doctrine, no religion which is confronted by real science, can long endure. Nor have we indicated the attitud

Digitized by Google

of all eminent scientists, for essential religion has had no more confident and zealous champions than have been found in the anks of those famed as scientific teachers.

There is, however, among those who have got positions of authority in certain scientific specialties, a class whose antagonism to religion has the most deadly character of ill-suppressed contempt. And they affect to predicate their unfriendliness, of principles, which, as they aver, are verified in their own specialties of scientific knowledge. By pre-eminence these men are the scientists of the lecture-platform, of the monthly periodical, and of books specially meant for popular use. What is called "popularized science" is, at this date, fruitful of brilliant men, and in their specialties doubtless profound, who deem it almost a condescension to allude to religion at all, and who in their allusions thereto seldom fail to intimate that belief therein is a weakness which riper wisdom will be sure to correct. We restrict our concession and our complaint to this particular class, when we say that the sneer in the words, "Belief is nothing but belief," accurately describes their attitude towards all religion in general, and Christianity in particular. And, as we have said, their position is substantially this: "What we teach we absolutely *know;* what religionists teach they at best only *believe.*"

It would, we are confident, be an easy task to show in considerable detail, and from many points of view, that the special claim thus made, at least presumed, to the advantage of science, and in prejudice of religion, is wholly gratuitous; that no warrant therefor is found in fact or in reason; that as respects the essentials of religion the argumentative support is identical with that which authenticates all other propositions in the natural realm; that any definition which makes knowledge inapplicable to religion, is equally, and for the same reason, inapplicable to science, or whatever else asks the assent of the human mind; that the very definition of the word knowledge which makes it fitly descriptive of scientific or historic verities, is for the same reason, and to the same extent, pertinent as descriptive of the essential religious propositions.

Digitized by Google

The scientist not less than the religionist is held to the proposition so tersely and convincingly expressed by Sir William Hamilton, "Demonstration, if proof be possible, behooves us to repose on propositions, which carrying their own evidence, necessitate their own admission; and which being, as primary, inexplicable, as inexplicable, incomprehensible, must consequently manifest themselves less in the character of cognitions than of *facts*, of which consciousness assures us under the simple form of *feeling or belief*." [1]

The limits to which this article is restricted forbid so comprehensive a treatment of the theme. We purpose nothing more than that of showing, by the aid of a single example, that science is, at its best, quite as much "nothing but belief" as is religion,—though the fact is by no means prejudicial to either. It is a common saying (in which the visual organ is representative of all the organs of physical sense) that what one sees that he knows—literally, absolutely knows. In truth, science has made sad havoc with that "common saying"! From the moment man began to supplement what he saw with his eyes with that which he saw with his mind, the simple and direct, and, as popularly supposed, unmistakable testimony of the eye (or of the other senses) has been undergoing constant correction, in some things even revolution. Science has fearfully reduced the presumed capabilities of sight. The real things that cannot be seen are immensely greater and more numerous than the things that can be seen. So far from knowing what we see, the fact of seeing has got to be almost a presumptive proof of illusion and misapprehension! We submit, out of the multitude, a single example in illustration and proof.

Here we have before us, we may suppose, a block of purest marble—a polished cube. That we see. We see it as solid—we also feel it as such. A million eyes get from it the same assurance—all report it as substantial and solid.

We now ask attention to a supposition. Let us suppose the teacher of essential religion to take the platform and

[1] Philosophy of Common Sense. The italics are Sir William Hamilton's.

Digitized by Google

make this statement: "To all appearance that block of marble is solid. Sight and touch assert its solidity; and the assertion is so plausible, so much a matter of course, that the mind naturally accepts the truth of the statement — so much so that the mass of men and women would presume the denial of that solidity to be a mere jest. Yet as a religionist, as a teacher of the great principles on which all religious trust and worship rest, I pronounce that impression of solidity an illusion. My position as a teacher of religion compels me to aver that that block of marble is no more a solid than is a cube of air or gas. Unless it be conceded that the particles of that marble block are each separate from every other, with relatively large spaces between them, religion is proved an illusion." With what a howl of revolt would the skeptic greet that confession! The judgment would be instant that any belief or practice which begins by demanding a surrender of what our senses give as the plainest of facts, what is verified by the experience of every one, had forfeited all claim to the respectful consideration of every sane intelligence.

Yet, we must ask this school of skeptics to note, in the persons of its professed and trusted teachers, *science makes that identical denial!* It is not Chalmers, nor Paley, nor Flint; but Herschel, Clifford, Thompson, and Wurtz who say: "The eye and the hand which pronounce that block of marble solid deceive, and are themselves deceived. In truth, it is no more solid than is a quantity of gas filling the same space: in marble the particles are nearer one another than in the gas, but in neither do they come in constant contact. There is no solid in the world of sight, of touch, of experience!" Out of many a few citations from good authorities will sustain our statement.

What was formerly the hypothesis of atoms, has now got to be the Atomic Theory, and is accepted as a verity by modern eminent scientists. That theory is substantially expressed in the words we have supposed to come from the religionist! The very latest statement, coming from a very high scientific source, puts the theory in the following words:

Digitized by Google

"The ultimate particles of bodies do not touch each other; they are separated by relatively large spaces. They move in ether, and in gaseous bodies *their distance apart is immense in proportion to their size:* it is very considerable in solid and liquid bodies. The space occupied by the unit of volume of bodies is therefore far from being filled by the atomic substance itself; it comprises a portion of ether probably considerable." [2]

Substantially to the same effect is the following:

"The general belief is, that matter is formed of *ultimate particles*, which are movable, solid, impenetrable, and so hard as never to wear or break in pieces; having a certain definite size, figure, and weight, which they retain unchangeable through all their various combinations. These are called *atoms*. . . . However small the various ultimate atoms are, their oval form affords space around about and between them, which molecules [defined as "a group of two or more atoms of different elements"] are supposed to touch each other, if at all, only at few points, thus affording interspaces larger than their own bulk." [3]

In the following it does not clearly appear whether the writer uses the word "molecule" as convertible with "atom," (which would be incorrect), but the essential statement is not affected by the slight ambiguity:

"Though the spaces between the molecules are very minute, since they cannot be discovered even by the most powerful microscope, there are good reasons for believing that *they are immense when compared with the molecules themselves.* The molecules of a body have been compared to the earth, sun, moon, and stars, and the spaces between the molecules to the spaces between these heavenly bodies. This comparison is probably very near the truth. If we imagine a being small enough to live on one of the molecules in the centre of a stone, as we live on the earth, such a being, on looking out into the space about him, would see here and there, at immense distances, other molecules, as we see the scattered stars in the

[2] The Atomic Theory. By Ad. Wurtz. International Scientific Series. Chap. VII. pp. 187–89.

[3] Johnson's Natural Philosophy and Key to Philosophical Charts. pp. 30, 31.

Digitized by Google

heavens at night. The molecules, though exceedingly minute, are perfectly distinct and definite masses, like the earth, moon and stars, and *they are separated by spaces many thousand times* as great as that occupied by each molecule." [4]

We could fill pages with extracts to the same purport from as many different and reputable authorities in Science. Another example must suffice for our present need. The following is of peculiar interest in that it is an attempt to measure the ultimate particles of matter and also the spaces separating them:

"I must, for one or two moments, refer to some calculations of Sir William Thompson, which are of exceeding interest, as showing us what is the proximity of the molecules in liquids and in solids. By four different modes of argument, derived from different parts of science, and pointing mainly to the same conclusion, he has shown that the distance between two molecules in a drop of water is such that there are between five hundred millions and five thousand millions of them in an inch. He expresses that result in this way: That if you were to magnify a drop of water to the size of the earth, then the coarseness of the graining of it would be something between that of cricket-balls and small shot. Or, we may express it in this rather striking way: You know that the best microscopes can be made to magnify from six thousand to eight thousand times. A microscope which would magnify that result as much again would show the molecular structure of water." [5]

Two things are to be said in view of this general statement. First we must note that in the atoms, the ultimate particles of matter, we have the substance of physics. In all scientific theorizing, the atoms are "the blocks with which we build." To the entire universe of the senses the atoms bear the same relations that the letters of the alphabet — those of them that are elementary — bear to literature. The Iliad, Shakspeare, yes, the Bible, is determined by the phonetic qualities of about thirty letters. Change the quality of a single alphabetic ele-

[4] Cambridge Course of Elementary Physics. Part First. By W. J. Rolfe and J. A. Gillet. p. 5.

[5] Professor Clifford, in article Atoms, Half-Hour Recreations in Popular Science pp. 445, 446.

Digitized by Google

ment, and the Iliad, as we now have it, would be mutilated. Exchange the qualities of any two letters, and Shakspeare, in the form we now have his works, might be unintelligible. The Iliad is simply a few elementary sounds in certain combinations. The substance is in the letters; all else is formative. The physical universe is the atoms in varied and numberless combinations. The atoms are the substance, all else is formative,— the qualities of the atoms determining the relations, conditions, everything recognized as belonging to the realm of physical science — the realm of physics.

The second point — and for our present purpose all-important because all-inclusive — is this: *The atoms are not, cannot be, objects of sight or of any sense-apprehension.* The atom is something which eye hath not seen nor ear heard. It is reached purely by inference. It is affirmed by a purely mental process. The very bases of physics, scientific authors bearing the testimony, are furnished by a metaphysical method. Every department of physics rests upon psychology. It is significant to note that two of the authors quoted pronounce the Atomic theory a "belief," and this in a connection that determines the intended meaning as that of debatable belief. The "good reasons for believing" are indeed good. They are intelligible even to the non-professional, and they are convincing. We find ourselves compelled to accept the Atomic Theory — at once startling, wonderful and beautiful. We never spring a plate of glass or a steel blade, but the explanation is apparent: in the act of springing the steel or glass, the atoms on the inside come nearer together, and those on the outside go further apart! We feel assured, even in this fundamental of science, of that which "eye hath not seen nor ear heard," nor any other sense tested. That which we have a strong persuasion that we see, we do not see. The reality is in the words of deduction, far remote from tactual demonstration.[6]

[6] The speculative basis of physics is exemplified in other regards than that to which we restrict consideration in the text. The Conservation of Force — the postulate that in the Universe there is a fixed quantity of force, and that the numberless and varied forms of phenomena are but its manifestations — is, we believe, held by all scientists, and it provokes dissent in no quarter. It is thought, most irrationally we think, to

Digitized by Google

Now if the blocks are matters of "nothing but belief," can the building be anything more? It is a truism, indeed matter of common definition, that logic is only formative. It furnishes no substance. It makes apparent what before was unrecognized, but it does not make that which it produces. It takes premises and reveals their meaning. But it makes no premises, save in the sense that its conclusions serve as data for yet other conclusions, in which, however, nothing substantial is given. If, then, in the very bases of phenomena, in the ultimate particles whereof the Universe is but a set of combinations, we are dealing not with things seen, or experimentally verified, but only with things affirmed by irresistible, mental conviction, we are surely guilty of gross assumption if we claim more of certainty in our deductions than exist in the data which authenticates them. In truth if we so define knowledge that we cannot apply it to the very materials of physical science, we are estopped from an application of the word to science itself. In that definition, we make the poetical line a literal, exact formula, "Behold, we know not anything." But if the word "knowledge" has any application in science (and we hold that it has), it cannot have any less application to the psychological propositions upon which the very data of science rest.

The aim of this essay is, we trust, sufficiently clear. Cer-

dispense with the necessity of attributing design to the power which leads to the changes and proceedings of the Universe, while it is confidently appealed to, irrationally we again think, as foreclosing the notion of final causes. Yet in what sense or what particular can this fundamental of modern science be regarded as the disclosure of sensible experience? What eye, or ear, or other physical organ, has apprehended it? The only basis for this most important theory is that of "irresistible conviction"—in other words, the mind's inability to conceive of an increase of the world's quantity of force, and, for the same reason, of its decrease. The reason we think to be perfectly valid. Yet it is needless to add, it is purely metaphysical. So of the notion of the indestructibility of matter; so of Herbert Spencer's notion (with which John Stuart Mill was in substantial agreement) of an Unknown as the basis of phenomena. The notions, whatever their value, are exclusively metaphysical: experiment cannot even get at them. "We are," says the late professor Diman, (The Theistic Argument, p. 91,) "compelled to believe in the persistence of force, simply for the reason that it is impossible to conceive of something becoming nothing, or of nothing becoming something. *We pass beyond the realm of experience* and appeal to a psychological necessity. Science lands us, at last, in a transcendental region—all her conclusions are seen to rest upon a postulate which we recognize as a law of conscious thought."

Digitized by Google

tainly the misapprehension will be vital if it is thought to reveal a spirit jealous of, or out of sympathy with, the great scientific movements of the age. It is true, our aim has been to convict a certain class of teachers known as scientists, of mistakes in their treatment of a matter that is not in their chosen realm. But this is not a criticism of them *as scientists*. The movement of a locomotive on the rail is always an interesting spectacle. But it is nothing against that wonderful mechanism to complain of its movements upon an ungraded field. When a scientist in a particular physical department only, leaves his appointed track to pronounce a judgment upon a matter that is not in the scientific realm — at least the particular realm which he has explored — the censure he may justify is not a censure of him as a scientist. The contortions and eccentric movements of a fish upon the land provoke a criticism of the fish not as a fish, but as pedestrian. Our profound sympathy with scientific pursuits leading us to be specially impatient of a class of theologians who assail it in blindness, in inappreciation of its significance, makes us revolt at the thought of writing science down. But we also protest against the writing of essential religion down, particularly by men who have not earned a right to pronounce judgment upon its principles.

We have not been aggressive. We have been purely upon the defence. We have aimed to show that science in its completeness, — which cannot, without a contradiction of terms, have more of certitude than has its substance,— has, by its own confession, no claim to the word "knowledge" in any sense that authorizes the antithesis, "Science is what we *know*; religion is what we *believe*." Science cannot put religion down as "nothing but belief," except as it knocks from under itself the very pillars on which it affects to rest. The sneer is therefore not simply illogical — it is suicidal. But it is not the sneer of science. It is that of men using the prestige won in a particular realm, to give weight to utterances pertaining to a realm wherein they have won no distinction, and have no rightful authority.

Digitized by Google

Article VI.

Science and Religion.

If Science is the truth as to the facts and phenomena of the physical world, and Religion, the truth as to the facts and relations of the spiritual life, then "the conflict of science and religion" is a misnomer. For it is a principle on which rests the possibility of all knowledge and all philosophy that truth is harmonious — that a truth in one realm of knowledge or one domain of nature cannot be in conflict with a truth in another realm or domain. The "conflict," then, — and a conflict there certainly has been, if it do not exist to-day — has been waged between the two great forces which have determined and shaped our civilization — on the one hand, the free spirit of inquiry and truth-seeking, reckless of consequences and dogmas, and on the other, an organized spiritual hierarchy, appealing to the authority of a record, a creed, or a tradition, and wielding with overweening arrogance the scepter of power. The conflict has arisen from the opposition of priests and theologians to the conclusions of scientific investigators. And here a little digression may be allowed to remark the perversion of facts, if not the perversity of mind, displayed in the so-called History of the Conflict of Science and Religion by an eminent scientific scholar of our own country, in which religion is identified with the Roman Catholic Church, and made responsible for all the enormities of that Church in its long struggle with liberty and the spirit of progress.

History has drawn no flattering picture of the Church, in its relations to this conflict. It cannot be denied that it pushed its hostility to science to the verge of brutality and cruelty; that its acknowledged representatives murdered Hypatia, and a Christian bishop exulted at the horrid crime; that it compelled Galileo to deny on his knees the convictions of his honest thought; that it burned Bruno at the stake and persecuted Copernicus, and, to the extent of its power, made it a terror to an honest man to proclaim convictions opposed

Digitized by Google

to its doctrines. But in vain! The individual truth-seeker fell under the iron hand of power. The truth prevailed.

This is not the place to present an apology for "the Holy Catholic Church"; but it may not be unprofitable to indicate at least one of the principles by which its attitude and spirit were determined. And we select a doctrine first formulated, we believe, by Augustine, who, by his giant intellect and all-compelling dogmatism contributed more than any other man of the early Church to shape the creed of Christendom,—the doctrine that the Bible is plenarily inspired, that all its words are the word of God, and whether it speaks of cosmogonies, or history, or philosophy, its utterances are to be received as infallible and conclusive of all inquiry. By a logical and consistent application of this doctrine the Church endeavored to suppress all the conclusions of science which did not accord with the supposed science of revelation, and smote the advocates of these conclusions as enemies of mankind.

And it is from the point of view of this Augustinian doctrine that the spasmodic attempts are made in our own time to "reconcile" Genesis and Geology—the supposed cosmogony of Moses with the cosmogony of science—regardless of the fact that a revealed science would be no science at all, and of the fact that the post-Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is now generally conceded by those most competent to pronounce an opinion in the case. But even if it stood otherwise with this question of historical criticism, and Moses were unquestionably the author of these books, the doctrine that he was qualified by inspiration to reveal the process of creation, or declare a cosmogony, rests on a presumption which no unprejudiced scholar would have the hardihood to make. The time has passed when religion can profit by the labors of the apologists of this "reconciling" school.

But in spite of the torch, the anathema, and the frightened protest of timid theologians, science has steadily pursued its onward course, until, by the unwearied patience and industry of its long line of investigators, it has become one of the most fruitful and beneficent forces of modern civilization. Pushing

Digitized by Google

its researches toward the utmost limits of the knowable, it has unveiled the hidden secrets of nature, and compelled her most recondite truths into the service of knowledge. Mastering the forces of matter, it has made them tributary to the use, the comfort, and the civilization of mankind, until its trophies are hung in every home, and, in the din of traffic and enterprise that belts the globe, its triumphs are sounded round the world. It has revealed in an aspect of benignity those terrific powers of the elements, before which ignorance stood dumb with amazement, and superstition commanded the soul of man to bow with trembling and with fear. It has taken that impalpable and mysterious force, electricity, and taught it to make its incredible flight through space, bearing the thoughts of man and even the accents and tones of his voice, or, pausing in the carbon, to burst into splendor, like a sun, self-kindled in the darkness of the night. It has surpassed the most extravagant vision of the seer and the most sanguine hope of the philanthropist in effecting the unity of the human race, the solidarity of mankind. It has overcome the obstacles to human intercourse in the difference of race and language, surmounted the stormy barrier of the great deep, and surpassed the flight of the revolving earth, so that now the man who has a word of power to speak, speaks it simultaneously to two continents, and a mourning nation, bending around the bier of its fallen chief, feels the electric touch of sympathy from across the sea. It has furnished the most striking testimony to the power of mind over matter, and to the immortal energies of the human soul, and has made this age of ours the most wonderful and wonder-working age of human history.

Shall it be said that an agency so beneficent, and yielding such contributions to civilization is hostile to religion? To affirm this were to affirm the limitation of religion — were to affirm that it has no place in the totality of real things, that it is a delusion or a superstition, a note of discord in the divine harmony of truth. On the contrary, far from being injured, the interests of religion have been furthered by science. For

Digitized by Google

the more science has revealed of the grandeur of the universe and its wonderful economy, its order, harmony and laws, the more securely have the foundations of religion been established, and the more intelligent and reverent has its worship become. If to the Hebrew poet "day unto day uttered speech, and night unto night showed knowledge" of God, how much more to the poet or the worshipper of to-day do the revelations of science proclaim the glory and majesty the divine workmanship!

Accordingly, if we examine the conclusions of science in detail, we shall only find a confirmation of our position, and shall see that, although the exclusive devotion to physical studies is often productive of a materialistic and atheistic view of nature and of life, this is by no means the logical result of scientific inquiry. In its analysis of nature, for example, science finds matter and force the ultimate facts behind all phenomena. Matter it declares indestructible, force, persistent. The former can neither be increased nor diminished; the latter, in all its forms of correlation and conservation, persists in endless activity. From the operation of these two elements proceed the manifold forms and ceaseless changes of the phenomenal universe. Now it is a fundamental postulate of religion that the world cannot be explained out of itself, but only by assuming a supersensible cause. And although this assumption does not establish Theism, it is a necessary step, and the first step, towards its establishment. But science cannot declare, and does not pretend to demonstrate, the non-existence of such a cause. To do so would be to transcend its legitimate sphere, the investigation of phenomena. In the presence of the problem of the origin of things science is dumb. Out of the voiceless mystery of being it has won no revelation. It cannot affirm, and does not pretend to affirm that force created matter, or that matter created force. Indeed, it is not by an induction, but by an *a priori* necessity of thought, that it is able even to affirm the indestructibility of matter and the persistence of force — simply because it is unthinkable that something should become nothing. Hence,

Digitized by Google

far from coming into conflict with religion, far from drawing any conclusions hostile to it, science has only prepared the problem for the consideration of a religious philosophy, has even contributed as much as lies in its power to the establishment of the postulates of religion. In carrying its researches to the utmost analysis of matter, it has brought the reason face to face with a necessity of thought, by which the metaphysical proposition must be asserted that the ever-varying phenomena of matter and energy cannot be regarded as ultimate, because the changeable requires an unchangeable to account for its existence and movements, because a series of second causes requires the assumption of a first cause for its explanation. And if science cannot affirm this first cause, it certainly cannot deny it. When it has reduced all causes to these two, energy and matter, it has only *stated* the problem of the origin of things. It has not solved the problem. How *life* proceeds from these it cannot tell. That they are alone adequate to produce life, it dares not affirm. But life exists, and cannot, according to a fundamental axiom of science, be without a cause. In the absence of a physical cause, to assume a hyperphysical cause is a necessity of thought.

Again, the theistic argument for the *intelligence* of the first cause, drawn from the Order of the universe is not invalidated by the results of scientific investigation. Science reveals to us the process of creation in a series of changes extending through uncomputed time, age succeeding age, and each epoch containing the conditions of the development of the epoch that follows. In this method there is nothing more striking and essential than the prevalence of order — the reign of law. By force, matter and the law of gravitation, science explains the formation of the solar system by the nebular hypothesis. But when it has ended this explanation and made this hypothesis appear probable, it has completed its work. It can answer the question, *How?* To the *Wherefore?* it can give no response. How came a majestic system of worlds, which exhibits the most consummate order and harmony, to proceed out of the formless neb-

Digitized by Google

ula? By the law of gravitation, which caused the nebula to condense upon itself, and by the action of force in manifold forms, whereby the elements were fused and shaped in masses, and the worlds were sent forth in their endless flight, is the answer of science. Its utmost analysis gives it no authority to answer otherwise. If it does not affirm an intelligent cause, it is for the reason that it has no means of discovering such a cause. It has no right to make such an affirmation. And the fact that it is unable by its method to discover intelligence, gives it no right to deny the affirmation. Here, again, we find science in no conflict with religion, but only helping in the solution of the problem of existence by reducing it to a simple form. If a skeptical philosophy here takes up the question and asserts that there is no need of supposing intelligence to account for the order in nature, since it is already accounted for by the reign of law, of which science discloses the record through all the stages of cosmic evolution, then it is competent for a theistic philosophy to answer that this is not a solution, but an evasion of the problem; for to explain order by law is simply to explain a thing by itself. The problem calls for the explanation of law. How could the nebula and gravitation result in the evolution of a universe unless the nebula possessed certain properties which would determine such a result? And whence the adjustment of all the qualities and conditions exactly so as to produce a universe — so as to develop into a majestic order, instead of remaining an eternal chaos? We must answer either that this happened by chance, and that the universe is only one of an infinite number of possible results, or that an intelligence at sometime and in some way involved the elements and conditions out of which the existing order of things has been evolved. The theory of chance is not only utterly unreasonable in itself, but it has all the analogy of nature against it. For in nature nothing happens by chance, but everything proceeds in accordance with law. Accordingly it is evident that the Darwinian theory of the variations of species by natural selection does not dispense with intelligent design. For ma-

Digitized by Google

terial elements and forces that uniformly result in products of order, must imply, must involve in their constitution and nature the order which they bring forth. That is to say, that these products must have been *thought* before they existed. This affirmation rests on a necessity of thought. For to affirm the contrary is to say that the most wonderful thing in nature, the ever and everywhere prevailing order and system, is without an adequate cause.

The scientific hypothesis of Evolution is commonly presented as dispensing with the necessity of design in nature, and completely demolishing the doctrine of Final Causes. That this is not the case, and that not even here does science, considered apart from the materialistic philosophy which is often confounded with it, enter into conflict with religion, is apparent on a slight consideration of the evidence in the case. The principle of evolution is substantially that everything in nature is produced from rudimentary forms by a slow process of modifications succeeding each other and gradually approaching the completion of a result, towards which by an invariable law, the beginning and the entire development were directed. Now, so far as the analysis of science extends, these modifications are found to result from the action of material agencies and forces. And to discover and exhibit these is only to give the *method* of creation, it is not to explain it. Accordingly, in doing this, science, remaining, as it does, in its own field of physical phenomena and facts infringes neither upon the domain of religion, nor that of a theistic philosophy. For a supersensible cause being the postulate of religion, the removal of this cause through æons of time from its effect, and the production of that effect by a process of evolution involves no denial, either of the cause, or of its efficiency. It is not until the scientist assumes the *rôle* of philospher that the gage of battle is thrown down, and the conflict with Theism is really joined, as, for example, when Mr. Huxley discourses as follows on Final Causes, apropos of Paley's illustration of the doctrine of Design from the adaptation exhibited in a watch:

Digitized by Google

"Suppose, however, that any one had been able to show that the watch had not been made directly by any person, but that it was the result of the modification of another watch which kept time but poorly, and that this, again, had proceeded from a structure that could hardly be called a watch at all, seeing that it had no figures on the dial, and the works were rudimentary, and that, going back and back in time, we came at last to a revolving barrel as the earliest traceable rudiment of the whole fabric; and imagine that it had been possible to show that all these changes had resulted first from a tendency in the structure to vary indefinitely, and secondly, from something in the surrounding world which helped all variations in the direction of an accurate time-keeper, and checked all those in other directions,—then it is obvious that the force of Paley's argument would be gone."

If all this were shown, then we should certainly have a very wonderful method of constructing a watch, but it is not by any means "obvious" that the mind would feel no necessity of *explaining* the method by inquiring into its reason. And in prosecuting this inquiry, we should seek to know how the rudimentary structure came to "vary indefinitely," what the "something in the surrounding world" might be, and above all, why this unnamed thing persistently operated, as if with design, to "help all variations in the direction of an accurate time-keeper." And the result of such an inquiry could only be to affirm the doctrine of Design, or the theory of Chance, or to take refuge in the confession of ignorance, that last resort of a baffled materialism.

It is obvious from these considerations that the interests both of science and religion will be promoted by an attitude of intelligent understanding of each other on the part of the representatives of both. The religious teacher should remember that there is much truth in the realm of science which no one is so well qualified to elucidate as he who gives all his thought to the study of physical phenomena, and that al truth should be welcomed by every lover of his kind. And the student of science should not forget that there is a realm of spirit, the facts and phenomena of which are as real and as

Digitized by Google

much entitled to recognition as those with which he deals. Especially is it the part of the advocate of religion to insist upon the authority of the spiritual facts, the deliverances of the reason and the conscience, and to be "instant in season," not to declaim against science in alarm at each new discovery, but to meet the theories of materialism with well-chosen weapons from the armory of theistic philosophy.

ARTICLE VII.

A Prophet.

"Out from the hearts of prophets old,
The burden of the Bible rolled."

THERE dwelt in Syria, many centuries ago, a remarkable class of men called prophets. How did they look, act, feel; and what were their natures, endowments, belief, character, and modes of procedure? This article is an attempt to answer some of these questions in the light radiated from the books of the prophets — the Bible.

A prophet is a peculiar man; and there are many kinds of peculiar men. We may admit that in a certain, restricted sense, "all men are born free and equal," and that "God is no respecter of persons"; yet adult men are very unlike in temperament, attainment, taste, and character. A few persons in every generation are superior in some respects to all the others. Some of these superior men are eminent as poets; others, as painters, musicians, orators, inventors, generals, reformers, &c.; and each in his sphere, excels all others. Each has a gift, a genius, an intuition, an inspiration, that stirs his thoughts, colors his ideas, tones his speech, and regulates his conduct. And this mysterious something that influences him, also controls him, — is a master that he must obey. Being of this make, the prophet, like his peers in other fields of thought and labor, stands apart from other men, and does

Digitized by Google

not need their company. Moses ascends Sinai, and Elijah stands on Horeb, alone. Balaam said, "If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God, to do less or more." And afterward, whatever altar was built or victim sacrificed, he was obliged to bless and not curse Israel. Generally unpopular, and sometimes hated and persecuted, the prophet shrinks not from duty or responsibility, though he stands all alone.

A prophet is an inspired man. Inspiration is a mystery that cannot be defined or described. The prophet calls it a "burden" that weighs upon him, "the hand of the Lord" laid upon him, leaving us to imagine the sensation produced by the thrilling touch and the burdensome pressure of the divine Hand. But the outcome of this abnormal influence, is words. "Holy men of old spake as they were moved upon by the Holy Spirit." The prophet speaks or writes his thoughts; and if, as Condillac, Lavoisier, Dugald Stewart, and others assert, "we think in words," the inspiration must be verbal. The frequent preface, "Thus saith the Lord," implies a verbal report from the lips of the Eternal; and this is evidently what the prophet supposes himself doing. Sometimes visions, — dreamy pictures, — float through his mind, but they are immediately coined into words; and the result of the inspiring influence is still verbal. But each prophet is inspired to speak in his mother tongue, and in the phraseology to which he is accustomed. Only a person intimate with shepherd habits could have written the 23d Psalm; and only a rough "herdman of Tekoah" could have penned the book of Amos. In his eloquent speech on Mars Hill, the learned disciple of Gamaliel displayed to advantage his classical culture and logical training. But from whatever source the sentences flow, the actual meaning, and not the mere words, is the thing valuable. Noyes's translation of the New Testament is quite unlike King James's version, — is more easily read and understood; yet, in the main, the ideas of each are identical. In fact, the entire English Bible is merely one way among hundreds of embodying the spirit of the ancient Hebrew authors.

Digitized by Google

The prophet is an inspired teacher; and the truth he teaches, rather than the words, will abide forever.

A prophet is "a man of God." He believes in God, fears God, and desires in all things to "obey God rather than man." His views of Deity may be crude and even erroneous in our opinion; he may believe that the Infinite One has feelings akin to human pride, jealousy, love of praise, anger and revenge; and this belief may affect both his sayings and his conduct; but he is wholly loyal to his ideal King. What the Spirit says is to him a law, — a verdict, — from which there is no appeal. What the Lord commands should be done, regardless of consequences; and what the promises or threatenings affirm will surely come. His ruling thought is, "Woe to me if I preach not the Gospel;" if I neglect to "declare all the counsel of God;" if I fail to "fear God and keep His commandments." Hence in his inspired moments he is incorruptible and irrepressible. But, like all mortals, he is moody and changeable. The divine afflatus is not always felt. He may be misled by lying spirits: he may blunder like Jonah, may sin like Balaam, may fall like David; but he rises again, condemns his error, bewails his weakness, and reasserts his faith in Divine Providence. His flesh may be weak, but his spirit is strong, and his spiritual counsels are ever right and reliable.

A prophet is a seer; and in ancient times he bore this name. As a seer he has insight, foresight, second sight, clairvoyance. He can see the very soul of things, and hence the nature and worth of man. He can discern and interpret the signs of the times, and read thoughts in the expression of the countenance. He can trace events back to their origin, and forward to their future results. Thus he foresees and foretells. Dr. Wm. Smith, in his Dictionary of the Bible, asserts that "etymologically it is certain that neither prescience nor prediction is implied in the term used in Hebrew or Greek" to designate a prophet; but all wise men can foresee and foretell to some extent, and the seer best of all. He needs no special revelation of what is to take place, because the tracks and courses

Digitized by Google

of all things lie exposed to his view; and by the data of course and progress, he can easily write many a chapter of future history. But we do not need to know much about the future, and it is not the mission or business of the seer to tell us much. He announces positively that the righteous will prosper, and the wicked come to grief; that the nation loyal to God will prevail in battle, and that defeat is in store for the degraded and effeminate; but he seldom specifies the date, place or particular circumstances of these future events. Samuel saw, we know not how, that the stray cattle of Kish had been found, and that the tall young man who was searching for them possessed a kingly nature; and later in life he saw in the youngest son of Jesse the royal elements that would make him the monarch of Israel and the foremost man of the age. Swedenborg saw a conflagration fifty miles distant, and the precise streets and houses where the fire was raging; and Isaiah saw the glorious dawn of a golden age five centuries ahead of his time. The poet Campbell makes the aged Scotch seer say to Lochiel, whom he was warning:

> "'Tis the sunset of life gives me mystical lore,
> And coming events cast their shadows before."

Probably every coming event is preceded by a shadow, an effulgence, or an atmosphere, that heralds its approach and outlines its character; and the keen eyed can perceive and prophesy.

A prophet is a "preacher of righteousness," and he "pours forth" his extemporaneous discourses with an earnestness and pathos that no common man can equal. He sees through, despises and denounces all sham, pretense, formality and soulless ritualism. Not sheep and goats, altars and censers, flowing robes and liturgical services, but honesty, purity, manliness, piety, "doth the Lord require of thee." He hates and rebukes wrong, not because it is condemned in a book or forbidden by a written law, but because he sees and realizes its enormity, and foresees its dire results. Compare the plainness, directness and intensity of Elijah, Nathan and John the Baptist, with the prosy speaker and oily preacher of our day,

Digitized by Google

and the immense superiority of the prophet is at once apparent. His "thou art the man," does more to convince and convert a sinner, than a dull sermon an hour long. He tampers with no compromise or procrastination. "Cease to do evil; learn to do good;" "now is the accepted time." His mission and vocation are reform, and he cares little for anything, present or future, unless it forwards his work.

Details are generally unimportant. The exact date of Christ's birth is not known, but Christians love him none the less. In the Old Testament there are a score or two of statements that are realized in the life of Jesus; but explicit predictions respecting the particulars of his earthly sojourn, are not numerous. The learned Jews ought to have understood their own Bible, yet they could not recognize the humble Son of man as its promised Messiah. Minute accounts of biographical incidents are not essential to saving faith, and the prophets did not indulge in such particulars; but it is all important for us to know what is right and what wrong, and what are the sure results of both vice and virtue; and on these points the prophets dwelt with a frequency and explicitness that leave no room for doubt or mistake. So characteristic of a prophet was this kind of discourse, that in the days of the apostles an earnest preacher of righteousness was generally considered a prophet; and it would not be a misnomer to give such a man this title at the present day.

The prophet is a poet; the prophetical books of the Bible are poetry; not the jingle of rhymes and the measured stops of iambics and dactyls, but that splendor of imagery and that cadence of sublime ideas which are the characteristics of genuine poetry. The charm of poetry is its revealment of truth, its vivid descriptions of the nature, beauty and goodness of things not noticed by common observers: and this is the specialty of the prophets. They may not try to be poetical, but as they see the shading, tinting, blending and spiritual meaning of things and events, it is most easy and natural for them to voice their thoughts in song. A prophet is a poet, and we should remember this fact when reading his productions. If

Digitized by Google

we take his glowing symbolism to be sober matter of fact, we are led astray. The valley of dry bones, and the wheels, portrayed by Ezekiel, the monstrous animals seen by Daniel, and the dramatic scenery of Revelation, have no actual foundation and no literal significance. They are only the husks — the wrappings of truths within. We may "run as we read," but we must stop to interpret. A prophet is a poet, and a real poet is a prophet. He is a seer; he sings by inspiration; and there is a revealment in his effusions. The dramas of Shakspeare are a kind of bible; and some of our often sung hymns are ragrant with the flowers of Paradise. Wordsworth's ode, "Intimations of Immortality," gives us a consciousness of eternal life. It may not be advisable to rely on modern poets for proofs of doctrine or duty; but we feel stronger when they are on our side.

A prophet is a statesman. All the ancient prophets "meddled with politics." In heart they all favored theocracy, and with reason. If God were acknowledged to be the one rightful Ruler, and His commands the only binding laws, and if all men knew and obeyed these laws, there would be no need of earthly things, — armies, legislators, courts, taxes or prisons. The Hebrew seers firmly believed in a good time coming when swords would be beaten into plowshares, and spears into pruning hooks; when war should cease, and all nations and all men, from the least to the greatest, would be loyal to the infinite King. But meanwhile, each prophet in his day would religiously shape the policy of human governments; and he is qualified for the work. He studies the daily papers, (in ancient times they were only straws showing which way the wind blew;) he gathers information from the telephone of rumor; he notes the moral pulse of society, and knows at what degree of feebleness ruin may be expected, and at what degree of strength comes prosperity; he is Premier, *Dei gratia*, and he has many a message for the King. His policy is piety; he would have the nation do right in the sight of God, and leave results to Him. His keen observation extends to the condition of surrounding nations; and he announces with

Digitized by Google

absolute correctness which is in the ascendant, which will attack his own people, when the red storm will come, and which side will be victorious. In following his advice, there is safety; in rejecting it, ruin.

A prophet is aggressive and heroic. The Christian may feel it his duty to be non-resistant; but not the prophet. He believes in war, and boldly attacks wrong and wrong-doers: not often with iron weapons, but with an iron will and the sword of the spirit, which is the Word of God. Fighting is dangerous, but he is not afraid; cowardice is not in his nature. He makes enemies, gets into trouble, is persecuted and driven to the verge of a violent death, but he does not flinch or falter. To take care of himself, to get wealth or office, to own a fine house and fare sumptuously, is no part of his business. The Lord is his keeper and provider, and he can go on with his work without a moment's thought about himself. Military leaders send their soldiers to the front, and, from some safe location, watch and direct the progress of the battle; the prophet himself goes to the front, engages in the conflict, and sometimes has no followers. Whether he wins or fails, his heroism is sublime.

Finally, a prophet is a saint; not an innocent, harmless, adipose—tissue saint, but a wide-awake, working, muscular saint. The popular idea of saintliness needs to be recast. The pure nun in her quiet cloister, the peaceable artist in his luxurious studio, the gentle Christian who is never ruffled, and never ruffles anybody, are very excellent people, but far from sainthood. They are not even distant relatives of the prophets. A saint is a worker; he goes about doing good, rebuking sin and sinners, exposing error and promulgating truth. Bad people feel his power, and are angry; sick people feel his holy influence, and are healed; the heathen hear his voice, and are converted; the dying rely upon his assurances, and depart in peace. Saintship is manliness, womanliness that looks up to God in trust, and down to the fallen in pity; and the prophet is a saint.

It is needless to add that we devoutly believe in the proph-

Digitized by Google

ets, and look up to them with profound reverence, as a child looks up to his wise and good teacher. We are not able fully to understand all that they wrote in Hebrew, two or three thousand years ago, in a land and among a people very unlike ours; we are not sure that transcribers have retained their exact words, or translators given their exact meaning; we are not sure that they did not sometimes enunciate error; but all through their illuminated poems, we find and recognize the gold of divine truth, and the glow of spiritual light. *Azazel* and *Selah* are to us meaningless; but the Decalogue, and the ethics of the prophets, are clear as sunlight, and we no more think of criticising these revealments, than of criticising a picture by Raphael, an oratorio by Beethoven, or the geometry of Euclid.

Are there prophets now in the world, or, in the decease of Malachi, Anna, or Agabus, did this noble species of humanity become extinct? God knows. There is still need of them, and work for them in every land. If there were a prophet in every pulpit, the Church of Christ would soon be triumphant. We have heard of no authoritative announcement that no more prophets are to be born, and of no law that forbids their existence. On the contrary, it is written, Acts ii. 17–18, "It shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, that I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and daughters shall prophesy; your young men shall see visions and your old men shall dream; and on my servants and handmaidens, in those days, I will pour out of my Spirit, and they shall prophesy." Unless the last days are past, there are yet to be more prophets than there ever have been in all bygone ages. St. Paul advised the Corinthians to "covet to prophesy." If it was their duty, it is also ours; and some of us can succeed in prophesying.

There are prophets in this year of grace, but who are they? Prophets are not honored in their their own country and age, and we may not recognize those in our vicinity. If we do, it would be invidious to name them. But it may be said in general that they are the men and the women who are "moved

Digitized by Google

upon by the Holy Spirit," and fill the outline sketched in this paper. They are the Elijahs who denounce wrong, the Jeremiahs that weep over iniquity, and the Isaiahs who rejoice in hope. They are, in our opinion, the faithful clergymen, the self-denying missionaries, the conscientious authors, sweet singers, brave workers, and fathers and mothers in the humbler paths of society. God is as near, as good, and as mighty as in any past age; and he may—it seems to us, must—now lay his hand upon some human hearts, and pour forth of his spirit into some receptive souls, and cause them to sing in unison with the ancient Jewish bards. Let us pay due honor to the dead and not undervalue the living.

GENERAL REVIEW.

"*Mercy and Judgment.*"

Mercy and Judgment: A few Last Words on Christian Eschatology with reference to Dr. Pusey's "What is of Faith?" By F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S., Canon of Westminster, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, &c. E. P. Dutton & Co.

THIS work, which professes to be written as an answer to Dr. Pusey, is much more than than that; in reality it goes over the entire ground of the doctrine of Future Retribution as held and taught by the early Christians. It is not a *few* last words on Christian Eschatology, as the author modestly states it, but a great many, constituting the most thorough treatise of the main thesis, and its many collateral subjects, which has yet appeared. It repeats much that has already been said in the volumes by Drs. Ballou and Edward Beecher, but it adds to the testimony adduced by them, and discusses points which they have omitted, or lightly touched, but which greatly help the reader to understand the feeling which existed in the primitive church on this question of future punishment.

One thing this book settles — Canon Farrar is not a Universalist; he does not believe, he only hopes, that all men may finally be saved; he does not deny the doctrine of endless punishment, though he thinks the number of those suffering it may be very small. These positions he repeats in the course of his arguments, with extra and

Digitized by Google

unnecessary emphasis: "Again and again it has been asserted or implied that I deny the eternity of punishment. Once more, and once for all, I desire to render such false witness inexcusable by saying on the very first page of this book that I have never denied, and do not now deny, the possible endlessness of punishment"; "I do not deny the eternal punishment of souls obstinately hard and finally impenitent"; "Still less do I teach that all men will attain to everlasting felicity"; "I have never dared to teach that all will be saved, or that no punishment will be endless"; &c., &c.

At the same time, it must be confessed, the good Canon says things on the other side which seem to cancel these assertion. For example: "Eternal torments are not indisputably taught *in so much as one text*. So far as I can see, I say with Dr. Isaac Watts, that I cannot find one single text in all Scripture which, when fairly interpreted, teaches as a matter of faith, or in any way even approaching to distinctness and decisiveness the common views about endless torments"; "According to the Scriptures, though I know not what its nature will be, or how it will be effected, I believe in the restitution of all things; and I believe in the coming of that time when — though in what sense I cannot pretend to explain or fathom — GOD WILL BE ALL IN ALL." Again he says, in a quotation which he adopts as his own,

"It is morally inconceivable if it had been the intention of Heaven to convey to mankind the threatening of a torment which should be absolutely endless, that such a threatening would be in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred expressed in terms which literally signify something *wholly inconsistent with such a destiny;* and that the announcement should be dubiously ascertainable only from passages in which it is difficult to distinguish metaphors from simple terms, and where the terms employed are themselves undoubtedly employed by Jewish Rabbis, and in the Bible, to denote a limited period of duration in punishment. A question so vast as the eternal destinies of the human race cannot be determined on the evidence of a few poetic or prophetic phrases."

It is difficult to understand how any one writing in this way can believe that God has done exactly the thing which he says here it is morally inconceivable He could do; for if endless punishment is taught at all in the Scripture, it is taught in precisely this way, that is, in language in which it is impossible to distinguish the metaphor from the fact, "in terms which signify something wholly inconsistent with such a destiny." Dr. Farrar himself says there is not so much

Digitized by Google

as one text in all the Bible where it is taught distinctly and plainly. This being the case, we regret that he does not inform us on what he founds his belief that "there may be for some souls an endless hell." Has he any information on this subject outside of the Bible? We should like to know, too, how in "the restitution of all things," when "God is all in all," in any sense consistent with His Perfections — there will still be some "obstinately hard and finally impenitent," to suffer endless punishment.

Beside this, the worthy Canon in the last three chapters of his book enters into an examination of the passages of Scripture usually cited in proof of endless punishment, and with his critical sledge-hammer demolishes every one of them, showing that they do not furnish the slightest evidence of this dogma. He reviews anew, and adds to, the argument respecting *aionios*, and demonstrates the folly of attempting to build upon this narrow foundation so monstrous a doctrine. He takes up all the words and phrases so constantly employed in this discussion, as *hell, damnation, judgment, unquenchable fire, lake of fire, the undying worm, Sodom and Gomorrah, the case of Judas*, &c., and shows their use among the Jews, and how they must have been understood by them; and thus makes an unanswerable argument in proof that Christ could never have employed them to teach the dogma of endless torment, even if he had himself believed it. In view of all this conclusive argument that the Scriptures do not teach the doctrine, we ask again, On what ground does he rest his assertion that "there may be for some souls an endless hell"? If Christ did not teach it in any of these terms, in what terms did he teach it? or if he did not teach it at all, why does he believe it possible?

We entirely agree with some of his orthodox critics that "a doctrine of Restorationism, carried as far as he carries it, should have but one logical result — that somewhere in the remote ages of punitive correction it should end in Universalism." Or as another one expresses it, "How, holding these things, he can escape from being a Universalist," is beyond reasonable explanation.

There is another point in Dr. Farrar's statement of the case which seems weak and unsatisfactory for one of his breadth of thinking, and having his strongly expressed contempt for the "deplorable sophism" and puerile logic of some of his critics. He thinks "the great majority of mankind" will be saved; only a very few continuing successfully to resist the grace of God, and so be left to suffer endless torment. This is the ground commonly taken in these "latter days."

Digitized by Google

Even Dr. Hodge says that "the number of the finally lost in comparison with the whole number of the saved will be very inconsiderable." But our clear-headed Canon ought to see that this does not in the least change the principle involved. It matters little whether, of the fourteen hundred millions of souls on the earth at this present writing, one hundred or thirteen millions are lost; for in either case the charge of cruelty or incompetency rests on the same foundation. *One soul* wrecked and ruined, and left to unutterable torment for eternity, shows beyond dispute either that God intended it, or could not prevent it, and in either case the conclusion is sufficiently dreadful. The divine controversy is not with souls in the mass, but with each individual soul — "Why was *I* created with the sure foresight that I should by my own sin, or by the decree of God, be consigned to the torments of an endless hell?" And it does not at all diminish the amount of my punishment that only a half-dozen others are doomed to a like fate. Hell is the same in its origin and purpose, whether its inhabitants be few or many. It is not the number, more or less, who suffer endlessly, *but the endless suffering itself*, that formulates the awful accusation against the divine government, and challenges alike the mercy and the justice of God.

Then again the Canon thinks there may be some so hardened as to resist the truth and love of God striving for their conversion, through the infinite ages; in other words that there may be some souls so strong in will and evil purpose as to defeat all the efforts of the Almighty to save them, and that He will therefore be compelled to abandon them to endless rebellion. "I believe," he says, "that God willeth all men to be saved," but "I cannot tell whether some souls may not resist God forever, and therefore be forever shut out from His presence."

Is it possible that one who has given such careful thought and study to this question as Canon Farrar has, can really believe that God, sincerely desiring and striving to subdue the resistant wills of this small remnant of the race, and save them from sin, will be obliged at last to retire from the conflict defeated; and confess that some of the souls he has created have grown beyond his control, and the human will become stronger than the Almighty Will? Can he believe that He who moulds all the forms of the material universe to His will and purpose, without contravening any natural law, is so poor in resources, so morally and spiritually weak, that, with the eternities to work in, He cannot make good His assertion that "He

Digitized by Google

doeth His will in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, and none can stay His hand"? nor fulfil His great promise, "I have sworn by Myself, the word has gone of my mouth righteousness, and shall not return, that unto Me every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall confess, surely shall say, 'In the Lord have I righteousness and strength'"? On page 171 he says, "Of the hideously wicked, abominably base, abnormally depraved,—of the *very few* men who have shown themselves to be beast-like in their degradation, or fiend-like in their cruelty — we can say nothing. Respecting such Hope itself must at least be silent, and lay her finger upon her lip." And yet it is the boast of orthodoxy, and the glory of Reform, that they have converted and saved many such as these. Every day we hear of men and women who have been lifted up from the depths of depravity, wickedness and crime, and restored to society, to home and abiding virtue — and this through human agencies blessed of God. The New Testament itself abounds in examples of this sort. Does the good Canon forget what Paul has said of certain just such "hideously wicked" men as these: "Neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with men, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God. *And such were some of you!* but ye were washed, ye were sanctified, ye were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the spirit of our God" (1 Cor. vi.)? And again, "We also were aforetime foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful and hating one another. But when the kindness of God our Saviour, and His love toward man appeared, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to His mercy He *saved* us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost," &c., (Titus iii.).

We come now to a more pleasant duty, that of setting forth the valuable features of the book. And here we shall speak

1st. Of its Contributions to the History of Jewish Eschatology at the dawn of the Christian era.

This term "eschatology" is made to cover the belief of the Jews regarding future punishments, and the words and phrases in which they expressed it. This point the author had treated at length in his "Eternal Hope," and Dr. Pusey in his review impugns his statements, questions his authorities, and even hints at his ignorance touching the

Digitized by Google

matter. The reader will probably, after reviewing the Canon's reply, conclude that he has fairly turned the tables on his critic.

Dr. Pusey's position is that "the Jews believed in eternal (endless) punishment before, or at the coming of our Lord, and called the place of punishment *Gehenna*." And this he attempts to prove from the Apocryphal Books, from Josephus, and from the Targums. Dr. Farrar's position is not that the word was never used to mean endless punishment — in a few exceptional cases it may have had this meaning — but that this was not its normal, nor its popular meaning; that "no Jew has ever understood by *Gehenna* a punishment from which none who incurred it would escape"; but, on the contrary, that "for centuries — from the days of the Mishna, which preserves the views of many Rabbis who were previous to, or contemporary with, our Lord, down to our own day — *Gehenna* was used by the Jews for a punishment which a soul might incur and yet escape."

It is surprising that a theologian of Dr. Pusey's acknowledged ability and learning is not able to distinguish between future punishment and endless punishment; and yet his entire argument, and nearly all his witnesses, go no farther than to prove that *Gehenna* is employed as a symbol of *future* retribution, which the Canon does not deny. Admitting the validity of the passages which he cites, they show only that the Jews in the time of Christ believed in punishment after death — a matter of no importance. The real points to be decided are, Was this punishment believed to be endless; and was *Gehenna* the word used to express this; and did Christ adopt the word because it expressed this? So far as these issues are concerned Dr. Pusey might as well have not written at all.

Canon Farrar follows his authorities at length, and shows from the ample testimony of learned Rabbis, ancient and modern, that the Apocryphal books are of no value at all among the Jews in proof or discussion of doctrines; and even if they were the passages cited, with one or two exceptions, have no bearing upon the matter in debate. So the Targums, whenever the term *Gehenna* is employed, mean by it simply future punishment. The "second death" is a term for annihilation, a common belief among the Jews at the time they were written; though the Targum of Jonathan on Isaiah lxvi. 24, says, "The wicked shall be judged in Gehenna until the righteous say concerning them, 'We have seen enough'"! Josephus is utterly untrustworthy, having written to recommend Mosaism to the favorable notice of his Roman masters and friends, rather than to state the truth

Digitized by Google

respecting the religious beliefs of his countrymen. Jewish scholars disown him, and visit him with severe censures. Finally, after citing the testimony of more than thirty Talmudic and Jewish authorities to these points, he sums up as follows: "1. That according to the Mishna and the Gemara, and all the most eminent Rabbis, *Gehenna*, "hell," meant for the majority of Jews, if not for all, brief temporary punishment, followed by forgiveness. 2. For worse offenders long, but still terminable punishment. 3. For the worst offenders — especially Gentile offenders — punishment followed by annihilation."

So, as we see, *Gehenna*, in the time of Christ, did not at all represent the idea of Hell as a place of endless torments. It corresponded much more nearly to the idea of the Catholic Purgatory than to that of the popular orthodox Hell. This being the case, it may be confidently affirmed that our Saviour would not have used *Gehenna* in the sense of endless punishment, when he knew that those to whom he was speaking had always used the term in a sense directly opposite to this, viz., to signify a temporary and terminable punishment. At least he would not have done this without giving them ample and repeated notice of this, which he certainly did not do. And just as certainly he did not inform them that the meaning which they attached to *Gehenna* was a wrong one, and that the doctrine which it expressed, and which they believed, was a false and dangerous doctrine.

And here let us apply the argument of the author of "The Hereafter of Sin," noticed in our last number: "Jesus took special care to expose and correct the erroneous notions of his hearers, particularly of the Scribes and Pharisees. . . . Now why did not Jesus correct *this* error (the doctrine of endless punishment), if it be an error?"

But if. as the editor of the *Jewish Chronicle* affirms, "endless torment has never been taught by the Rabbis as a doctrine of the Jewish Church"; or, to put it in another form, if the people with whom Jesus daily talked and reasoned believed that future punishment would come to an end, and used the word *Gehenna*, or hell, in this sense, "why did he not correct *this* error, if it *be* an error," since, according to our orthodox friend, he "took special care to expose and correct the erroneous notions of his hearers"? It is said that that is a poor rule which will not work both ways. But space compels us to close this part of the Canon's argument; and when the overwhelming mass of evidence which he has given us is fairly weighed, we think he has a right to say,

Digitized by Google

"Seeing that we naturally turn to Jews and to Jewish writings of acknowledged authority to explain their own technical terms; and seeing that no writings are more authoritative with the Jews than the Mishna and the Gemara, and no Rabbis are so highly esteemed as Rabbis Akiba, and Maimonides, and Arbarbanel; and seeing that all the ancient authorities are at one with the highest living authorities among the Rabbis in saying that, in the view of their Church, *Gehenna* does not now mean, and has never meant, a doom to necessarily endless torment; and seeing that our blessed Lord always used technical Jewish words in their technical Jewish sense — unless he avowedly gave them a different meaning — I have thought that my point is amply proved."

2nd. Of its Contributions to the History of Early Christian Eschatology; especially in its relations to Universalism.

In his presentation of this subject, Canon Farrar has, as before remarked, necessarily reproduced many of the facts, passages, and authorities cited in Dr. Ballou's "Ancient History of Universalism," in Dr. Beecher's "History of Opinions concerning Future Retribution," and in Dr. Sawyer's papers on Origen and his enemies; but he has added to the testimony in some cases, in others placed the facts in a new light, and altogether has enlarged and strengthened the argument by collateral testimonies. Chapters IX. on the "Opinions of the Fathers," and X. and XI. on "Origen and Church Councils," filling together 125 pages, are rich in historical matter, and furnish many details not found in the other named volumes. This is particularly the case in respect to the character, labors and persecutions of Origen, and the important fact that the causes of his condemnation as a heretic did not lie in the line of his Universalism. It is worth the while to read the sketches which our author gives of the enemies and libellers of this saintly scholar; and then the long list of his friends and defenders, embracing, as Dr. Farrar truly says, "the very greatest, holiest, noblest, and most orthodox of his immediate contemporaries and successors," showing that for "a century and a half after his death, Origen was still held in great glory in all the world." Even Jerome, one of his bitterest and most unprincipled enemies, in the very tract written against him, is compelled to say, "Let us not imitate his faults whose virtues we cannot reach. He was the greatest master of the Church after the apostles." The Canon has certainly made a splendid defence of the faith, piety and virtues of Origen, and his witnesses, ancient and modern, are as notable for weight of character as for numbers.

Digitized by Google

But the point to which we would call special attention is the distinction which he enforces between Origenism and Universalism; the former covering all the supposed heretical opinions of Origen, and the other specifying simply his belief in the salvation of all men. This fact he has brought out more fully than any previous writer. Origenism was denounced and condemned in cases where Universalism was not alluded to; and that, too, sometimes by those who agreed or sympathized with Origen in his belief of the final restoration:

"Epiphanius, who was the first to attach the name of 'heretic' to the honored name of Origen, makes no mention of his Universalism in the list of errors which he discovered, or imagined that he had discovered, in the writings of Origen. Theophilus, eager as he was to injure Origen, does not say a word against his Restorationism as regards mankind, but only objects to the salvability of devils. The same is true of St. Jerome and Sulpicius Severus. Similarly in the remarks of Leo the Great, in the life of St. Saba by Cyril of Scythopolis, and even in Justinian's letter to the Home Synod, the prominent complaint is not against Origen's Universalism, but against his doctrine of the pre-existence of souls. Every fresh study of the original authorities only leaves on my mind a deeper impression that even in the fifth century, Universalism, *as respects mankind*, was regarded as a perfectly tenable opinion." "Do not let the reader be misled by the assertion that "Origenism" or "Origen" was condemned, when meant to imply that the doctrine of man's final restoration was condemned. It proves abosolutely nothing as to this particular opinion, for this opinion was notoriously separable from Origenism. It was not what was meant by Origenism. It was widely held by those who opposed Origen in everything else. "The question of Universalism, as a general and independent hope for mankind alone, has never, so far as I am aware, been so much as submitted to any ancient or general council whatever. In cases where it has in some distant degree come under notice, it has always been mixed up with a multitude of other views, such as the mystery of the Trinity, pre-exisence, cycles of probation, the salvability of devils, and the insecure bliss of the saved."

The careful reader of these chapters will find several important points in the history of Universalism specially emphasized.

1. That the condemnation of "Origenism" as heresy, is by no means the condemnation of Universalism as heresy.

2. That belief in Universalism was very widely held in the early Church, and far down into the fifth century.[1]

[1] Gieseler says, "Origen's opinion as to the duration of future punishment was so general, even in the West, *and among the opponents of Origen* . . . that it had become entirely independent of his system." *Eccl. Hist.* i. § 85.

Digitized by Google

3. That this doctrine was not accounted as heretical, but was believed and taught by the most learned and pious scholars, bishops and leaders in the Church, as well as by great masses of the people.

4. That many distinguished scholars and saints who did not believe the doctrine, leaned toward it as a Hope; and felt the difficulties, and sought in various ways to soften the horrors, of the opposite doctrine of endless punishment.

Among these last may be mentioned St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and others. St. Jerome admits that "very many" in his day held the doctrine that all punishment would finally come to an end, and says for himself, in reply to Pelagius, who asserted that "in the day of Judgment sinners would not be spared, but burned up with eternal fires," "You do not understand that the threatening of God sometimes means clemency, for He does not say that they are 'to be burnt up with eternal fires,' but that they 'fail from the earth and cease to be unjust.' It is one thing that they should cease from sin and injustice, and another that they should perish forever."

Even St. Augustine, who is credited with the parentage of modern Calvinism, and formulated the famous aionian argument for endless punishment from Matthew xxv. 46, felt called upon to soften the horrors and the injustice of the dogma by admitting different degrees of suffering among the lost, and by the doctrine of *refrigeria* or seasons of "refreshments";[2] or in his own words, that "the pains of the damned are at certain intervals of time in some measure mitigated." He argues that though the wrath of God may not allow an end of their torment, it may "apply or interpose between their tortures some alleviation," and quotes in support from Psalm lxxvii: "For God will not forget to be gracious." And in his commentary on Matthew xxv. 46, in spite of his argument that the duration of the punishment of the wicked and of the bliss of the righteous must be equal, he half abandons his miserable criticism by saying, "I would not affirm this so as to seem to close the door to a more careful consideration as to the punishments of the lost, and the sense in which they are in Scripture called eternal."

[2] It is curious to see how widely this doctrine has prevailed among ancient and modern Christians, as shown by the Canon in the chapter on "Mitigations." It was held also by some of the Jewish Rabbis, that there would be "pauses of torment" or times of refreshment in hell. They held "that the wicked have every day an hour and a half of rest at the times of prayer, as well as the whole Sabbath — *i. e.*, fifty-one hours a week." See also the article on "Swedenborgianism and Universalism," in this "General Review."

Digitized by Google

Augustine also witnesses to the large numbers of believers in the final Restitution: "Some, nay, *very many (non nulli, immo quam plurimi)* with human feeling compassionate the eternal punishment of the damned, and so believe not that it will take place, softening all the hard sayings, and turning into a more gentle meaning such things in Scripture as they think said rather to excite terror than as though true," that is, literal, according to the letter. This shows, as remarked, how troublesome the dogma of endless torment was to the Christian conscience and heart.

The argument that God is at liberty to threaten without inflicting eternal punishment was not original with Archbishop Tillotson and Less, but dates back to early times. Theophylact, A.D. 1071, reasons thus: "Jesus did not say, 'Fear not them who, after he hath killed, casteth into Gehenna,' but '*hath power to* cast into Gehenna.' For the sinners who die are not always cast into Gehenna; but it remains in the power of God also to pardon. He hath not, therefore, always, after He hath killed, cast into Gehenna, but *hath power* to cast." And our author quotes from *Theod. Alethinus (ad Petar. l. c.)*, a passage which says there are those "who confess that God intended *(intendere)* eternal punishment for contumacious sinners, but by no means surrenders the right to remit it if He sees fit; just as the supreme power can, if it chooses, release criminals condemned to perpetual imprisonment *(carceri perpetuo)*. So laws are made eternal, which nevertheless legislative power *(legislator)* may abrogate."

So great was the burden which this dreadful dogma imposed on Christian faith and love; and so various the methods invented by those who believed it to get rid of some of its cruelties and horrors. Beside the multitudes in the Church of the third and fourth centuries who believed Universalism, there were many more, as these facts show, who abhorred and doubted the dogma of eternal torments, and looked toward Restorationism, or Annihilationism, or Mitigations, or Purgatory, for some way of escape from it.

We desire to commend this work most cordially to the study of our clergy and laymen. They will find in it many things which will deeply interest and inform them, and much historical and theological matter to which we have not even alluded. Although Canon Farrar is not a Universalist, we do not see, if he were, how he could do better service for our Faith and Church than he has done Still, it is to be understood that Canon Farrar seeks to establish only these propositions,—*(a)* That the opportunities for repentance and salvation are

Digitized by Google

not confined to this life; *(b)* That the Scriptures do not teach that punishment after death is *necessarily* endless; *(c)* That neither the Jews of the Saviour's time, nor the primitive Chistians, believed that the original words translated *Hell*, *Damnation*, *Everlasting*, &c., expressed any such meanings as are associated with these words in modern orthodox creeds.

Swedenborg and Universalism.

We do not profess to be familiar with the writings of Swedenborg, nor to understand fully all the peculiarities of Biblical Interpretation and Doctrinal Beliefs which distinguish the New Jerusalem Church. For this reason we are not competent, nor have we the time, to enter into an exhaustive investigation, of any article of the Swedenborgian creed. In previous numbers of the QUARTERLY, we have alluded briefly to the attitude of Swedenborg to the doctrine of Endless Punishment on the one hand, and of Universalism on the other, because of certain paragraphs bearing on these points which have accidentally fallen in our way. For an explanation of what follows the reader is referred to the "Religious World" in the last two numbers of the QUARTERLY.

The Editor of the *New Jerusalem Magazine*, expressed regrets that some were disposed "to deduce religious doctrine," in other words, Universalism, from certain passages of Swedenborg's Diary, of which he gave one example; and further affirmed, if we understand him, that "the true doctrine," or endless punishment in a modified and more endurable form, "shines forth from the beginning to the end of his works."

Our correspondent, Dr. William Taylor, who for years has been a diligent and careful student of Swedenborg's works, takes exception to this view of the Editor, and furnishes abundant reasons, as will be seen in the following extracts which he communicates to the QUARTERLY. It certainly seems to us that what we call Universalism "shines forth from the beginning to the end" of these numerous testimonies:

"It is generally admitted (and certainly capable of proof from his own writings) that Swedenborg based his *theology* upon '*spiritual revelations*,' which he says were given to him of the angels; that he was 'intromitted' to the spiritual world, and received his information as to religious truths thence. He kept a *diary of such communica*

Digitized by Google

tions, which was published, one volume of which is, I believe, 'out of print.' If, then, we would obtain the plain truth of what Swedenborg accepted *as truth* in this, without any theological constructions or deductions; or if we would get at primitive Swedenborgianism in the matter referred to, we shall find it in these '*Diaries*,' which are his sources of information, and *recorded by his own hand*. Let us see what these diaries do say on this subject of future punishment. I quote *verbatim*. In paragraph No. 170, in an article showing the punishment of pride, in the world of spirits, to be a 'lamentation,' 'with despair of being cast down,' he writes:

"It was, however, observed, that in the midst of pains and lamentations, *there was a hope of salvation preserved*, which alleviated the pain." "A continual compassion also accompanied the experience, when I perceived that an evil spirit inflicted the punishment, *and that God Messiah continually breathed into the soul the hope of salvation*." [1]

In paragraph, No. 220, after describing the terrible punishments of the wicked, we find these words:

"So that they were led to the last degree of straitness and eternal death, *before they were delivered*."

In paragraph 228, devoted to the "damned in Hell," after a great deal of other interesting matter, teaching that God Messiah appears, for their comfort, to souls in hell, he uses the following unequivocal language;

"Moreover, I desire to state this fact, for I know it to be true, because I have perceived it, *that many of them have been raised from hell torments into heaven where they now live*."

In paragraph, No. 286, even more startling declarations are made. In describing the lowest hells, he says:

"Moreover, I was afterward told from heaven, that such are there as have very little of the human principle left: — that they there remain for centuries: — some having been there already *twenty* centuries. *There are, however, none of those there who perished at the time of the flood; but they have been brought out of that direfully infernal tun: and there are those who have been created anew*."

Again, in paragraph 1029:

"All punishment in the other life, is inflicted for the emendation of him who suffers it," "for such punishments have a tendency to take away evils, and induce a faculty of doing good."

And in p. 2443, last two lines, we have this:

"Wherever there is a preponderance of evil, *there the evil is punished, but never save for a good end*"

[1] Our friend very properly asks, "Why preserve the hope, unless it is to have fruition?" Our readers will notice the singular reproduction here of the doctrine of *Refrigeria*, or "Mitigations," and "Alleviations," as held by some of the ancient Fathers of the Church, mentioned in the first article of this "General Review." — *Editor*.

Digitized by Google

And in paragraph, No. 1088, we find the following notable words:

"There is, however, no chance; that is, *no evil can happen by chance.* But evils are so governed, *that no evil whatever but that conduces to some good. is permitted to befall either men or departed souls.*"

Again, and unequivocally, in p. 2583, it is stated that there *is no endless punishment!* I quote:

"Inasmuch as man, on account of ignorance and the like, supposes that the soul of man *will be tormented to all eternity*, this is made evident, that man *is condemned* to eternal punishment, for he has deserved it, but out of the Lord's mercy *damnation is at last taken away*, yet through vastations and punishments," &c.[2] P. 2671 — ALL are predestined from eternity *to eternal life.*"

N. B. p. 2826, "There was one who supposed for certain that infernal punishments would last to eternity: and that their end could never be given, *still less redemption from hell by the Lord:* to whom it was nevertheless shown, that never can any punishment be given in the other life except for an end (purpose); still less can it be thought that any punishment is given without an end, to wit: *that by punishments he may be so tempered as to be able to be in some good society.*"[3]

"In the Lord nothing is given unless an end (means) to some good. The Divine itself and Divine Wisdom is an end to good. *Therefore it would be contrary to Divine Wisdom, or contrary to the Divine, that a soul should be tormented* TO ETERNITY."

If Swedenborgian*ism* is to be judged by *Swedenborg*, or by the information upon which Swedenborg himself rests for authority, then, as shown above, *endless punishment can have no place in a truly Swedenborgian theology.*"

Primeval Man.

The Past in the Present — What is Civilization? By Arthur Mitchell, M.D., LL.D. Harper Brothers.

IT has seemed to us for a long time that more light was needed respecting a certain class of facts on which Scientists have built the wildest theories regarding the time of man's appearance or existence on the earth. Very large conclusions have been drawn from very slender premises, running into hundreds of thousands of years as the period of man's residence on this planet. And we have had endless dissertations touching the cave dwellers, chipped flints, primitive pottery, stone implements and weapons, palæolithic and neolithic, showing the primitive condition of man to have been that of the savage, almost of the beast; and showing thence the uncounted ages it must

[2] Here, again, we have the past in the present. See, in the article on "Judgment and Mercy," in the "General Review," what Theophylact and others say about God's threatening and remitting "eternal punishment"; or his right to release those condemned to endless torments.— *Editor.*

[3] "There was one who supposed," &c. Doubtless Swedenborg refers to himself in this expression, as Paul in 2 Cor. xii. 2–4, "I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago," &c. If so, he means to say that formerly he believed in endless punishment, but his error being "shown" to him, he changed his views. — *Editor.*

Digitized by Google

have required for him to struggle up out of this into even the beginning of the Civilization which adorns our own time with its education, arts, science, laws and religion.

Now Dr. Mitchell has brought together in his book a curious collection of facts, gathered from a single small district in Scotland, which discover to us how little confidence we can have in the reasoning which leads to such vast results. He shows as we have stated heretofore in these pages, that the stone-age, the iron-age, &c., are not as sharply distinguished as has been affirmed; that primeval man so called, and modern or civilized man, are not separated by such a great gulf as is commonly believed. His observations in Scotland demonstrate that when an old art dies out it may be by a process of debasement, and that consequently the rude forms of an implement may follow as well as precede the more finished forms; and hence that it cannot be safely affirmed of two specimens of the same article that the ruder is necessarily the older. On the contrary, his pictured illustrations are proof to the eye that not unfrequently the rudest forms of all may be the very latest, or those fashioned when the instrument had all but passed out of use — as witness the spindle and whorl, querns, craggans, &c. We cannot forbear citing a single example of this last, of which he truly says, as his drawings and photographs prove, that the rudest pottery ever discovered among the relics of the stone age is not ruder than that used in this Scottish cabin, and no savages now in the world are known to make pottery of a coarser character than this. And yet, as he states, though

"The house in which the woman who made this pottery for our instruction was squalid and wretched enough, we saw in it cottons from Manchester, crockery from Staffordshire, cutlery from Sheffield, sugar from the West Indies, tea from China, and tobacco from Virginia. In this house, nevertheless, these rude craggans were made for sale. They were abundant in it, and were largely in actual use; as in many of the houses in adjoining townships.

"Here, then, was a woman living in a wretched and perishable hut, built, without cement, of unquarried and unshaped stones, busily manufacturing just such pottery as was made by the early pre-historic inhabitants of Scotland — just such pottery as is now made by some of the most degraded savages of the world — yet her comforts and wants were ministered to, not only by the great towns of England, but by the Indies, China and America.

"If now we buried her — house and all — what might a digging on the spot disclose a century hence? her bones, her whorl, her quern, and her craggans. That Sheffield, Manchester, India, China and

Digitized by Google

America had sent her of their products and manufactures there would remain no evidence. There might be a puzzle, however, about the contribution from Staffordshire — the broken crockery — and perhaps, as the consequence, an ingenious speculation about an early and a late occupation of the ruined hut by successive peoples at long intervals and in different stages of progress and culture."

The pictures of these craggans, and of a cow shaped by this woman out of the clay, are worthy of study. The relics of the Cave-men and of the rudest savages show nothing worse, or more primitive, in design and work. And yet the old woman who fashioned them was full of shrewdness, a theologian in her way, as Dr. Mitchell proved by conversation, well versed in Church quarrels and dogmatic subtleties, and in the obligations of the Poor Laws; and intellectually able, if necessary, to inform and educate herself in a score of other things. From these studies of the Barvas pottery, the author concludes, 1. That the very rudest forms of art may co-exist among a people with the highest. 2. That it would be a mistake to infer from this that a people must therefore be partly savage and partly civilized. 3. That persons capable of the highest culture may practise an art just as it is practised by the most degraded savages.

The drift of argument among a certain class of scientists, geological and archæological, seems to be to prove the kinship of man with the monkey; and in order to establish this point, it becomes necessary to show that the primeval man was only a single remove from the brute. Hence the much talk which we have alluded to about the stone, the bronze, and the iron ages, as stages in his progress from the brute condition to that of modern civilization. The reader will therefore not object to the statement of another fact, which fortifies the reasoning of Dr. Mitchell, taken from a notice in the *Methodist Quarterly*, by the Editor, of Dawson's "Fossil Men and their Modern Representatives." The fact given is an interesting fragment from history, aside from the argument:

"It is three hundred and forty-five years since Jacques Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence and landed at the Indian town of Hochelaga. This he describes as 'a round citie' (we quote Hakluyt's translation) 'compassed about with timber, with three course of rampires, one within another, framed with pieces of timber very cunningly joyned together after their fashion.' The inhabitants grew maize, pounded it with wooden pestles, and baked cakes with heated stones. They smoked fish and flesh 'without any taste or savour of salt,' and made wampum of shells. In fact, they were living just as the "flint-folk"

Digitized by Google

were living in a pre-historic village; and in less than a century after Cartier, when the Sieur of Maisonneuve was founding Montroial, they and their city had disappeared as wholly as have the dwellers in Maiden Castle or the other Wiltshire and Somerset fortresses. Thenceforward till 1860 Hochelaga was lost to the eyes of men. It was then unearthed, while excavations were being made in the west end of Montreal for house foundations, and the 'finds' were, as Principal Dawson points out, exactly like those so common at home, and so universally attributed to ages long anterior to the dawn of history; indeed, 'but for Cartier's narrative, the Montreal excavators might have supposed they were dealing with the relics of a people who perished thousands of years ago.'

"The inference is that our chipped flints and primitive pottery and polished stone implements need not be pushed back into such remote ages. We see in Europe, the stone age lasting on almost to yesterday — stone implements being in use till lately in Ireland and Scandinavia; nay, one form of stone implement, the flint and steel, being by no means obsolete even yet. We see in America the civilization of the stone age co-existing with the fullest modern culture. Why, then, should we demand such vast periods of time for the growing up of this modern culture, and why imagine that the old stone-age folk were one whit lower in the scale than the Red men, whose implements so closely resemble theirs?"

Dr. Mitchell referring to the Evolution theory, is positive that primeval man was not inferior in mental capacity or bodily form to the man of to-day. "The skulls and brains of the fossil man, that is, of the earliest man we know anything about, appear to have been as good as, if not better than, the skulls and brains of the latest, belonging to individuals living in the highest state of civilization."[1]

Mr. Rau, in his "Early Man in Europe," tells us that "the European of the Drift Age, who fought with the lion and the bear for the possession of a cave, was a savage as far below the buffalo-hunting Pawnee as the latter is removed from the cultivated representative of the Caucasian race." It may be so, we were not there to see, but the *facts* of Dr. Mitchell's book, together with many others of like nature, show that it is not yet proved; and it is by facts only, not inferences, that the question must finally be settled. Dr. Schlieman, in his excavations on the site of Troy, found four cities at differ-

[1] Prof Whitney, who is well known in connection with the Calaveras skull which was buried 130 feet deep beneath five beds of lava and four beds of gold-bearing gravel, says, "So far as we know, there is no evidence of the existence of any primordial stock from which man may have been derived as far back at least as the Pliocene. Man, thus, is nothing but man, whether found in Pliocene, Post-pliocene, or Recent formations." — *Auriferous Gravels of Sierra Nevada.*

Digitized by Google

ent levels, and the lowest, which, of course, was the first in the order of time, abounded in 'finds' of copper and bronze, and flint and greenstone implements and tools of all sorts — a metal and stone age in one! The next above this, the classic Troy, showed also abundant contemporary use of metal and stone instruments; while the city which was above this, and therefore chronologically later, is much more largely stone than metal! Thus we see how little weight there is in the stone argument for great antiquity and great barbarism. In fact, it is completely reversed in this case; the metal age antedates the stone age, and the savage, if such, instead of preceding, follows the civilized man. And nothing is more certain than the fact that civilization often recedes as well as advances, and races degenerate or "evolute" backwards. Assyria and Egypt, Mexico and Central America, are living witnesses on this point.

But there is another side from which this may be viewed, as shown in the book under notice. Scotland is not certainly a barbarous country, and its people, so far as civilization goes, will not be counted in among the Cave Dwellers and the tribes of the scientific stone age. And yet the line of argument named would legitimately lead to this, for portions of the people are certainly living to-day very much after the manner of this supposed age. Dr. Mitchell, after his examination of the facts regarding the cave dwellers in Caithness and Wick, makes the following issues — and the reader will find Nos. 3 and 5 terribly emphasized by the painful statements of Chapter IV.:

"1. That though a certain portion of a people are found to live in caves, it does not follow that the whole, or even a large part of that people do so.

2. That there may be an occasional, as well as a contiuuous, living in caves, and that the people who live in them occasionally may have other dwellings.

3. That the cave-dwellers of a nation may exhibit a degree of degradation which may not be exhibited by the nation of which they form a part. In other words, that cave-dwelling in a country may represent something abnormal or exceptional as regards that country and its people. If this be true in our time, it may have been true in past times.

4. That working in metals does not of itself necessarily imply a greater mental power, or greater culture, than working in stone.

5. That in all nations or races, and most clearly in those nations on which the civilizing forces are operating strongly, there is a sedimentary class, formed of, and recruited from, those who are incapable of holding a high place."

Digitized by Google

All these statements are supported by numerous proofs drawn from the actual condition of things as found to-day in well-known districts of Scotland. As a measure of time, therefore, from the stone age to the present, cave bones, flint weapons, stone implements, mound pottery, &c., are wholly unreliable. The stone age is to-day contemporary with the age of highest civilization; the cave men are still living in Scotland, and pottery as rude as that of any age of the past is manufactured in the present.

Equally uncertain, though foreign to the purpose of Dr. Mitchell's book, and therefore without mention by him, are the conclusions drawn from other data. Sir Charles Lyell infers from the slow growth of peat that the peat beds of the Somme Valley, in France, must have required indefinite ages to have reached their present depth; but investigation proves that the rapidity or slowness of growth depends on certain conditions which may or may not be present in a given location.

The argument for the great antiquity of man deduced from the depth, 36 feet, at which tools and various implements were found in this valley, is neutralized by the fact that Boucher de Perthes, the excavator and original witness, testifies that he found at the depth of twenty feet a Roman amphora; at twenty-four feet an ivory statuette believed to be that of St. Lawrence; at thirty-five feet, pieces of Roman copper. "All these finds, and more, demonstrate," says Dr. Whedon, "that these banks have been deposited since the Roman era in France. There are ample geological proofs that they are not twenty-five hundred years old." Of course all this has nothing to do with the question whether the Bible Adam was or was not the first man, the Usher chronology in this matter being utterly worthless; but whether there was, or not, a Pre-Adamite man, the peat beds and gravel banks are of no value in determining the time of his appearance on earth.

One other item deserves notice in this connection, the use that is made of the fact that human bones have been found mingled with the bones of extinct animals, a term which is made to cover altogether too much ground in the argument. These animals must have perished, we are told, at periods in the earth's history so far back in the past as to baffle all calculations; and since man was contemporaneous with them, he must have lived unnumbered ages before the dawn of history, before the story of Adam was known to the world. Among these "extinct animals," once living in Europe, are the mammoth,

Digitized by Google

the cave bear, lion and hyena, the rhinoceros, the reindeer, the Irish elk, &c. Now it has been proved that extinction of species has been known to take place within the historic period, and, in some cases, within the memory of man. Prof. Dawkins, in his book, "Early Man in Britain," mentions, in illustration, the gigantic birds of New Zealand and Madagascar, the huge auk of Newfoundland, and a peculiar species of Labrador duck; and says that the Irish elk is known to have survived until the fourteenth century. He further states that he himself dug up the remains of a mammoth in Michigan from a deposit of peat not more than eighteen inches deep.

And many facts in Prof. Collett's "Geological Report of Indiana for 1880" go to show that the time of the Mastodon's disappearance cannot date beyond the most recent changes of the earth's surface. So lately were they here, indeed, that the Professor thinks the pressing question is, "Why did they become extinct?" We quote from the *Independent's* notice of the Report:

"A skeleton was discovered in excavating the bed of the canal a few miles north of Covington, Fountain County, in wet peat. The teeth are in good preservation, and Mr. Perrin Kent states that when the larger bones were cut open, the marrow, still preserved, was utilized by the bog-cutters to "grease" their boots, and that pieces of sperm-like substance, 2½ inches to 3 inches in diameter occupied the place of the kidney fat of the monster. During the past Summer of 1880 an almost complete skeleton of a mastodon was found six miles northwest from Hoopston, Iroquois County, Illinois, which goes far to settle definitely that it was not only a recent animal, but that it survived until the life and vegetation of to-day prevailed. The tusks formed each a full quarter of a circle, were 9 feet long, 22 inches in circumference at the base, and weighed 175 pounds. The lower jaw was well preserved, with a full set of magnificent teeth, and is nearly 3 feet long. On inspecting the remains closely, a mass of fibrous, bark-like material was found between the ribs, filling the place of the animal's stomach. When carefully separated, it proved to be a crushed mass of herbs and grasses, similar to those which still grow in the vicinity. In the same bed of miry clay a multitude of small fresh-water and land shells were observed and collected. These molluscs prevail all over the States of Illinois, Indiana, and parts of Michigan and show conclusively that, however other conditions may differ, the animal and vegetable life, and consequently climate, are the same now as when this mastodon sank in his grave of mire and clay."

So Lyell and Lubbock argued that it must have been intensely cold in France in the far-off ages when the reindeer roamed at the foot of

Digitized by Google

the Pyrenees; but Prof. Dawkins admits that it was still living in Germany in the time of Cæsar, and it was found in the north of Scotland in the twelfth century. What weight is there, then, in the argument founded on the mingled bones of man and the extinct species of animals, in proof that the former must have lived a hundred thousand, or even five thousand, years ago?

There are other evidences showing how utterly valueless as measures of time are many of the facts cited by scientists, and how many of the arguments based on them have gone to the ground before more careful investigations. And it may be profitable for such to consider the following summary of mistakes made in this department of prehistoric archæology. We take it from an article in the *Methodist Quarterly* for April 1881:

"The history of this science is full of instruction as to the danger of generalizing too rapidly in scientific matters on imperfectly understood facts. It would seem almost incredible that, ten years ago, men like Lyell, Lubbock, Owen, Busk, Geikie, De Quatrefages, Broca, Morlot, De Mortillet, Lartet, Agassiz, should have blindly accepted all the wild theories of enthusiastic antiquaries with regard to the ages of stone, bronze and iron. and the antiquity of the races whose implements or bones were found in the barrows, the lake-beds, the refuse piles, the peat and the caves of Europe. In nearly all these cases, once so confidently relied on to prove the antiquity of man, the evidence. as previously remarked, has broken down. We hear little or nothing now about the stone circles, the cromlechs, the cairns, the tumuli, which exercised so powerfully the imagination of Thurnam, Greenwell, Rolleston, and Lubbock in connection with the primitive inhabitants of Britain. So many discoveries have been made establishing the fact that many of these graves are even later than the advance of the Romans into Northern Europe, and that none of them carry evidence of any very remarkable antiquity, that this branch of the evidence seems silently to have dropped out of archæological literature.

The same remark is true of the speculations which were based on the relics found in the peat-bogs, in the lake-dwellings, and in the shell-heaps. More careful inquiries showed that peat frequently formed with great rapidity, and objects were found in the lowest layers of the French, Danish, and Irish bogs, which belonged to the Roman or even more recent periods: as the boat freighted with Roman bricks at the bottom of the Abbeville peat, the Roman axes and coins in Hatfield Moss, etc. With regard to the antiquity of the lake-dwellers, Professor Winchell informs us 'that, in many instances, the *débris* from lacustrine villages have yielded Roman coins and other works of Roman art;' and that 'the latest pile habitations

Digitized by Google

come down to the sixth century.' He might have stated that at the Stockholm meeting of the Anthropological Society in 1874, Professor Virchow presented evidence to show that these settlements were in existence in Sweden and Pomerania as late as the tenth century."

Mind? or Nerves?

THE October *Methodist Quarterly*, in a notice of our article on "Materialistic Philosophy" in the July number, approves the line of argument adopted, and adds two illustrations to strengthen it: one regarding the death of George Smith, the Assyriologist; the other an incident connected with Bishop Lee's death, which we remember to have seen in some newspaper at the time. We give it below:

"A private letter from Davenport, Iowa, received in Boston, contains the following: 'We have been very anxious the last two weeks over the illness of Bishop Lee, which terminated in his death on Saturday morning. The whole community is saddened by the event. Some two months ago he got up in the night and took a bath. and on returning to his room he made a mistake and stepped off a long flight of stairs, and landed at the foot with a tremendous crash, as he was very heavy, weighing over two hundred pounds. It aroused the whole family, and Mrs. Lee and Carrie sprang from their beds, and, lighting each a candle, went to see what had happened, and found the Bishop lying on the floor of the entry. He got up, however, without aid, and seemed to have received no injury except a few slight bruises, though his right hand was a little lamed. Mr. H. and myself called on him two days after, and while telling us the circumstance of the fall, he mentioned this coincidence: He had a letter in his hand, which he had just received from his son Henry, living in Kansas City. His son wrote: "Are you well? for last night I had a dream that troubles me. I heard a crash, and, standing up, said to my wife, 'Did you hear that crash?' I dreamed that father had a fall and was dead. I got up and looked at my watch, and it was 2 o'clock. I could not sleep again, so vivid was the dream." And it made him anxious to hear from home. The Bishop said he was not superstitious, but he thought it remarkable that Henry should have had the dream at the very hour of the same night that the accident occurred. The difference in the time there and here is just fifteen minutes, and it was 2.15 by his watch, making it at the same moment. It was as if he had actually heard the fall. And the fall finally caused the Bishop's death. His hand became intensely painful, and gangrene set in, which, after two weeks of suffering, terminated his life.'"

"Now," says Dr. Whedon, "it cannot be conceived that a fire at Stockholm pictured itself on the retina of Swedenborg at Gottenberg,

Digitized by Google

or that a special air-wave could go from Davenport to Kansas City to strike on Henry's ear-drum. Without the material organ the mind must have seen and heard. And the idea seems to suggest itself that the organism is as much a *limitation* upon the far-reaching powers of the soul as an *instrument* of its ordinary action. And such facts are so numerous that 'criticism' cannot be allowed to palm upon them any sham interpretations."

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature. Prepared by Rev. John M'Clintock, D.D., and James Strong, S.T.D. Vol. X. *Su–Z.* Harper & Brothers. $5.00. pp. 1150.

This is the final alphabetical volume of one of the most important and useful works which the American press has ever given to the religious world. Harpers' Cyclopædia stands alone in its completeness as a Library of information on all subjects embraced in its descriptive title. It is not simply a Bible Dictionary, like Smith's, giving definitions of Biblical terms, nor a Theological, nor an Ecclesiastical Dictionary exclusively. It is not confined to any *one* of these great divisions of religious history, but embraces them all in its ample plan, and gives to the reader the best and latest known on every one of the thousand subjects included under their numerous subdivisions.

And how satisfactorily some of these subjects are treated may be seen in the present volume under the titles "Syriac Literature," and "Syriac Versions," "Vulgate," "Temple," "Targum," and "Turkey"; which last, with the map, gives the clearest presentation we have yet seen of the changes made by the Berlin treaty, as it affected territories, populations and religions. Of course it borrows largely from the best and most approved sources, as the Dictionaries of Smith, Kitto, Herzog, and others; and thus, incorporating the most valuable matter in all these works, as frankly confessed by the Editors, the usefulness and reliableness of this Cyclopædia are greatly extended. Hence, when asked, as is often the case, "For students having neither money nor room for a large library, what is the *one* best work, giving the most information in the smallest space, on Biblical Criticism and Interpretation, the History of the Church, ancient and modern, the History of Doctrines, and the results of recent Researches and Discoveries in Bible Lands?" our answer has been, *Harper's Cyclopædia.* We do not mean by this, however, that the treatment is always satisfactory, nor that it is always according to the merits and demands of the subject, nor that it is not sometimes one-sided and narrow, as instanced below; but when the multitudinous variety of topics is considered, the *intelligent* reader will temper his criticism accordingly.

Digitized by Google

The article on "Universalists," by Rev. Richard Eddy, is the most comprehensive and exact record of the History, Doctrines, Organization, Government and Statistics of our Church which has yet appeared in any similar publication; and we think it will meet the approval of our people generally, clergy and laity. It is amusing to see this article, and that on "Unitarianism," each introduced with a cautionary preface as to the dangerous arguments in their defence, and an attempted refutation of them.

We notice, too, that the Universalism of certain Fathers of the early Church seldom gets mention. Under the letter T come Theodorus of Mopsuestia, Theodoret Bishop of Cyrus, and Titus Bishop of Bostra, all of whom were pronounced Universalists, as their own writings testify; yet the only allusion to this fact is in this single line. "Theodore taught the impossibility of eternal punishment"; no lisp concerning the faith of Theodoret or Titus escaping the writer. And we think the editor might have spared more than seven words to Theodore's Universalism, considering that it shaped his entire philosophy of the Divine purpose and government; and considering further his reputation and vast influence in the Oriental churches, specially the Nestorian, whose Liturgy he framed and inspired with this faith, and of whom even Dorner, so often cited as authority in this Cyclopædia, says, "He was the crown and climax of the school of Antioch. The compass of his learning, his acuteness, and the force of his personal character, conjoined with his labors through many years as a teacher both of churches and of young and able disciples, and as a prolific writer, gained for him the title of '*Master of the East*'—the first Oriental theologian of his time."

A supplementary volume will follow in due time, gathering up all the new matter which has accumulated in the various departments of Criticism, Archæology, Biblical Interpretation, Theology, and Religious Philosophy during the years in which this work has been going through the press. Then Harper's Cyclopædia will be the most complete and valuable work of its kind in the English language, and a necessity in the Library of every Biblical student. A circular from the Publishers informs us that the Cyclopædia will be furnished to Clergymen, during the months of December, 1881, and January, 1882, at a discount of 20 per cent., sent to any post-office in the United States or Canada, postage or freight pre-paid. Those preferring can receive one volume each month at the above rates, the money always accompanying the order.

2. The Candle of the Lord, and Other Sermons. By Rev. Phillips Brooks, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.75.

It is not greatness of thought, nor elegance of diction, nor charm of voice, or manner, nor eloquence in delivery, which explains the power and attraction of Phillips Brooks as a preacher, and the singular mastery which he has over every class of hearers. No one listens to him without entirely surrendering himself to the man and the subject; but

Digitized by Google

when he goes away he is sure to ask, Why? He thinks over the preacher's hurried utterance, the simplicity of his manner, the absence of all tricks of rhetoric, of all outbursts of feeling and enthusiasm, and wonders why he was so held and interested to the end.

On reflection, however, he will gradually approach the secret, and to some extent, perhaps, discover the sources of his power over his hearers. In the first place the preacher is thoroughly in earnest, he believes every word he utters; no one can doubt that for a moment. His message is not professional, but wholly personal. He says these things, not because he is a minister, but because he is a man, and is interested in mankind; not because it is Sunday, and he is in the pulpit; he would say them anywhere, every day in the week, if the emergency called for it. He sees the sins and sorrows of men, and feels the need of saying them, and cannot be silent. The people listen to him with profound interest, whether agreeing with him or not, because they see the intense sincerity of the man; and sincerity always wins a sympathetic attention.

Then there is another element in his preaching which fastens the attention of the hearer, wonderfully illustrated by the discourses in this volume — its personal directness and searching moral and spiritual analysis. No wicked man, no hypocrite, no bigot, no selfish, nor cowardly, nor sensual, nor mean man ever beholds himself in the glass which Phillips Brooks holds before him, and "goeth his way, and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he is." No matter how unconscious he may have been in the past regarding his faults, he sees himself now. The preacher has dragged all his self-love and self-indulgence, his dishonesty and meanness and vileness out from their hiding-places into the glare of noon-day. "The Curse of Meroz" is an excellent example of this kind of sermon; and "The Candle of the Lord" is equally so in another department of action.

These discourses show that Mr. Brooks is a diligent and keen-sighted student of human nature, and knows how to reach its hidden springs, and touch its deepest pulses.

3. The Sun. By C. A. Young, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Astronomy in the College of New Jersey. With numerous Illustrations. D. Appleton & Co. $2.00.

This is the 34th volume of the *International* Scientific Series, embracing some of the most useful works in the several departments of Science which have ever come from the American press. This issue presents in a condensed form all that is certainly known about the Sun, in language as little technical as is consistent with precision.

The constitution of the sun, its true distance and density, the methods of studying its phenomena, the marvellous achievements of the spectroscope, the transits of Venus, sun-spots, their periodicity and effects upon the earth's temperature, solar disturbances and magnetic storms, the corona and protuberances, the sea of scarlet fire along the surface out of which they rise — all these and much more find place in these pages, and fill the soul of the reader with awe and half terror

Digitized by Google

at the tremendous forces which are at work at the centre of our solar system. At the same time, with all this the author has mingled a large amount of history touching the progress of discovery regarding the sun, and the gradual correction of the errors of early observations; as, for example, the distance of the sun from the earth, which for a long time estimated at 95,600,000 miles, is now reduced to 92,-865,000, an error of nearly 3,000,000 miles. So, as we see, the scientist, as well as the theologian, is compelled occasionally to accommodate his theories to new discoveries, and harmonize the old dogmas with the new facts.

4. A World of Wonders; or Marvels in Animate and Inanimate Nature. With Three Hundred and Twenty-two Illustrations. D. Appleton & Co.

As we look over the pages of this timely volume, we find ourselves reading again of wonders in earth, and sea, and air, which we have read, in substance, scores of times before, and which still have all the interest and fascination of the first reading. No one, indeed, can dwell among the natural marvels recorded here without a feeling of amazement at the infinite variety of methods in which God displays His creative skill and power, as seen in the wonders of marine life and structure; the curiosities of the vegetable world; the instincts and intelligence of beasts, birds, reptiles, and even the smallest insects; and in the tremendous forces of the material world at work in the volcano, the earthquake, the water, and ice, and air.

The more such books as this find their place in our homes, in our school district and Sunday-school libraries, the more will valuable knowledge be diffused among the people, young and old; and not only this, but the more there will be of reverence, devotion and trust toward that God who holds all these mighty forces, all these marvels of life and activity, in the hollow of His hand. This is the season for gifts and loving remembrances — and this is exactly the volume for the season. It will make a holiday of all the year.

5. Garfield's Words: Suggestive Passages from the Public and Private Writings of James Abram Garfield. Compiled by W. R. Balch. Houghton, Miflin & Co. $1.

As we read this welcome little volume, and pause to meditate upon the paragraphs and sentences pregnant with so much practical wisdom, lofty moral sentiment, political insight and religious principle and feeling, all uttered with such classic grace of speech, it seems very strange to us that we were not at the time attracted by the public addresses and Congressional arguments from which so large a portion of them is taken. We are glad, therefore for this book and its golden thoughts and words, which, as well as his brief presidential career, reveal to us what sort of a man he was; and we sorrow all the more that *such* a man, so wise, so capable, and so eminently fitted for the place, so conscientious, so large and true a patriot, so able a statesman, so manly a Christian, could not have been spared to our nation.

For the sake of American youth, we hope "Garfield's Words" will be daily read and pondered; that they may see what is in the man that has

Digitized by Google

won for him the hearts of millions at home and abroad, and set him in high places as an example worthy the ambition of the young men of all nations of the earth.

6. The Theory of Preaching: Lectures on Homiletics. By Austin Phelps, D. D., Late Bartlett Professor of Sacred Rhetoric in Andover Theological Seminary. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

This is probably the most complete treatise on the art of preaching which has originated in any American theological school. It traverses the entire ground of the theory and practice of preaching, the preparation, methods and aims of the sermon, the style of delivery, the manners and personal bearing of the preacher in the pulpit, the sources of his power over the audience. and his relations to his hearers as teacher, guide, and helper. In forty lectures, filling more than six hundred octavo pages, these and many collateral and kindred themes are discussed in an easy and colloquial style, but with a thorough mastery of principles, a grasp of practical details, abundant and pertinent illustrations, and a happy tact of application to the actual work of the ministry, that cannot fail to make the book equally attractive and helpful to preachers, and to the professors and students of our Divinity Schools. We have already suggested to one of our most successful teachers in the department of Homiletics, to prepare an article on the subject, taking Dr. Phelps' work for his text.

It is impossible within the limits of an ordinary book-notice to set forth the variety of topics, the methods of treatment, the useful suggestions and special helps to be found in such a volume. A full review of the whole question of the Christian ministry and pulpit teaching, and the various instrumentalities by which they can be made most effective in the conversion and salvation of the world — in other words, in destroying sin, promoting virtue, winning men to Christ, extending the reign of truth and righteousness, comforting the wretched, dispelling the terror of death, and demonstrating the reality of the life immortal — to do justice to all these grave and vital points would require all the pages given to a year's issue of our QUARTERLY.

Dr. Phelps seems to us to have done this work as well as it can be done from the standpoint of his theology. He is broad in his treatment, liberal in spirit; and, regarding doctrinal sermons from the level of the old creeds, candid as to the expediency, profit, and difficulties of such preaching in the present state of the religious mind. This will be seen especially in Lecture xxiv., where he questions the wisdom of preaching on such topics as "the free moral agency of man," "total depravity," "the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity," "the trinity of persons in the Godhead"; in Lectures xxxii., xxxiii., and xxxiv., where, among other things, the question of retribution as a subject of pulpit declamation is treated, and the injudicious method of teaching it illustrated by the effect produced on the mind and heart of Channing when a child. And in this connection the ninth section of the "Appendix" may be consulted, for it shows the need of a careful examination of Scriptural metaphors, and a thorough review of the entire philosophy of the subject. The appendix is a useful feature of the work, and helpful to preachers of all creeds.

7. Talks about the Bible to the Young Folks. By John G. Adams, D.D. Universalist Publishing House. 50 cts.

We welcome this little book as filling a niche in our Church literature

Digitized by Google

which has been too long left empty. It is intended to furnish our young people with some information respecting the "Book of books," what it is, how it originated, what it teaches in the matter of doctrines and precepts, and what reasons we have for believing that these come from the loving Father of us all. On all these points the children and youth of Sunday-schools are asking questions, and are asking questions to which it is all important that reasonable, intelligent and satisfying answers should be given. To this end some care and thought must be bestowed on the subjects, so that the answers may be concise, complete, and direct to the point. In these times, young people cannot be put off with half-answers, which often do more evil than good. The "Talks" of the teacher or the parent, spoken or printed, must have solid ground of knowledge to rest on; and they must be just in a form to interest, and create a desire for more rather than less.

Dr. Adams seems to us to have met these conditions, and to have prepared a series of chapters admirably suited to engage the attention, to please and instruct. His opening chapter, "God the Creator," is a happy introduction to what follows. If every house has a builder, every world must have a builder; and if the Builder or Creator is also a Father, then He must be good enough and thoughtful enough to tell His children something concerning their origin, duty, and destiny; whence they came, whither they are going, and how the journey may be made most pleasantly and easily. This He has done in the *Bible*, which is His Word of revelation, counsel and encouragement to His children. Then come chapters on the variety of subjects treated in the Bible, history, biography, poetry, travels, &c.; on the parental Love of God; Heaven and Hell, what and where they are, what constitutes the joy of the one and the punishment of the other; Faith, Salvation, their nature and substance; What after Death; Remembrance of God in Youth.

It requires a good deal of judgment to handle some of these questions so as to enlighten and profit the young mind and heart; but the author seems equal to the occasion. He says just enough in most cases, and makes it plain and easy of appropriation by many beautiful and pleasing anecdotes which cannot fail to touch the heart, and strengthen the principles of the young reader. The parent can not make a more suitable present to his son or daughter; nor can the teacher do better service to his Sunday scholars than to read a chapter at every session, even at the expense of the regular lesson. The volume is beautiful in binding, print and paper, and costs only 50 cents!

8. Man's Origin and Destiny, Sketched from the Platform of the Physical Sciences. By J. P. Lesley, Professor of Geology in University of Penn., and member of various learned societies at Home and Abroad. Second Edition. Geo. H. Ellis. $2.00.

The first ten of these Lectures were delivered in the Lowell Institute course of 1865. They are printed here without re-writing or re-casting. The six remaining Lectures on the Destiny of Man are so much new matter added to the London edition.

As a *resume* of the geological facts and discoveries bearing on the supposed primitive condition of the human race, at the time of their delivery, these lectures will be found to be very useful and informing to those engaged in the study of the vexed problems of man's origin, development and growth up to his present level of civilization. The reader may admit so much, without feeling obliged to accept all the in-

Digitized by Google

ferences and theories of the author respecting the facts of archæology, and of early religious beliefs and worships.

The title-page, with its long list of learned societies to which the writer belongs, prepares us for the air of superiority, the dogmatic tone, and the oracular decisions which appear in the pages that follow; especially when theology and the clergy are mentioned. And when he smiles contemptuously at the mistakes and blunders of the Biblical interpreter, obliged to adapt his exegesis to the new discoveries of science, he seems to forget the ample proof afforded by his own book that scientists, so called, have made equally great and numerous blunders in their interpretation of nature, and been as often compelled to change their ground, and adjust their pet theories to the new and confounding discoveries of the archæologist and naturalist. And, indeed, it is one of the valuable features of the work, this frank statement of the many different and conflicting conclusions drawn by scientists from the same facts. Wherever there is a point in dispute, Mr. Lesley has spread out before the reader the claims and arguments of all the parties in interest, and in this way has made his book a storehouse of information, an historical text-book, in fact, on the subjects discussed. We note one exception, where, in his attempt to show that man has been an inhabitant of this earth hundreds of thousands of years, he ignores the facts which are adduced by writers who differ from him, some of which the reader will find in the article in our "General Review" on "Primeval Man." We mention this simply in the interest of fair play, and not because we have any faith in the Usher chronology.

9. The International Revision Commentary on the New Testament. Based on the Revised Version of 1881. By English and American Scholars and Members of the Revision Committee. Edited by Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D. Vol. II. The Gospel according to Mark — Explained by Matthew B. Riddle, D.D., Prof. of N. T. Exegesis in Hartford Theological Seminary. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.00.

This is a cheap and abridged edition of Dr. Schaff's "Illustrated Popular Commentary," the size and cost of which has limited its circulation. The volumes are small, of pocket size, and the mechanical outfit is very neat and inviting. Of course, all the doctrinal expositions are in the line of popular orthodoxy, but the critical, historical and explanatory matter is good, and embodies all that is valuable in the Revised Version. The Christian world owes a great debt to the Scribners for the immense work they are doing in the way of commentaries. We wish they would give us a history of their enterprise in this department. Talk of a growing indifference to the Bible! there never was a time when there was such a rapidly increasing demand for everything which can throw light upon its pages, or help to interpret its meaning.

10. *East of the Jordan:* A Review of Travel and Observation in the Countries of Moab, Gilead and Bashan during the Years 1875–1877. By Selah Merrill, Archæologist of the American Palestine Exploration Society. With Illustrations and a Map, and with an Introduction by Professor Hoswell D. Hitchcock, D.D. Charles Scribner's Sons. $4.00.

This beautiful volume from the press of the Scribner's is a record of travel and exploration, during the years 1875–77, in one of the most neglected and least known regions of the Holy Land, and yet one of the most interesting in relation to Biblical archæology, and one of the richest in promise of important discoveries shedding light upon the dark places of sacred history. As Dr. Hitchcock says in his introduction,

Digitized by Google

"The historic associations belonging to the country east of the Jordan are rich and various. Two and a half of the twelve tribes that came out of Egypt under Moses chose that side of the river for their home. Syrian, Assyrian, and Chaldean armies marched in and out there. Some of the disbanded veterans of Alexander settled there. It was beyond the Jordan that John the Baptist began and ended his official career. Nearly six months of our Lord's brief ministry were spent on the same side of the river. The Christian Church itself sought refuge there when the Roman legions began to close in upon Jerusalem. In the time of the Antonines the country was full of cities, with their temples, theatres and baths. In the fifth century Christian churches, well organized, were numerous and flourishing."

Dr. Merrill was the archæologist of the American Palestine Exploration Society, and it was in its interest that he took charge of this expedition into Moab, Bashan, and Gilead, where some rare and valuable discoveries were made among the ruined cities, castles, temples, churches, tombs, palaces, and theatres, which witness so eloquently to the wealth, prosperity, and numbers of the ancient peoples who dwelt East of the Jordan.

But the reader must expect only a brief statement of these archæological wonders in this volume; for the author notifies us at the outset that the results of the explorations made will be given in another volume to follow this — for which we shall look with impatience and great expectations. In this we have only a record of travel and observation, very like that of all similar expeditions into the Orient, which always has an attraction, and fascination, for one who has never escaped from the restrictions and conventionalities of Western civilization. Dr. Merrill seems to have had a happy faculty of managing the Bedaween or wandering Arabs, so as not only to avoid the danger of collision and robbery, but even to attach them to himself personally. The last chapters of his book are both interesting, and alive with incident and information concerning their character, modes of living, their food and its preparation, their religious beliefs and practices, the burial of the dead, &c., some of which will remind the reader of the American Indians, and others of Catholic superstitions.

When the companion volume appears, we shall give our readers an extended notice of its archæological treasures, and of their bearing on Bible topics. The author has given us only enough in this book to whet the appetite for more — as in the description of the architectural splendors of Gerash, which he would identify with Ramoth Gilead. We wonder somewhat at his frequent descriptive quotations from other travellers, instead of his own "Notes."

11. **Half-Hours with Greek and Latin authors. From various English Translators. With Biographical Notices. By G. H. Jennings and W. S. Johnstone. D. Appleton & Co. $2.00.**

Thousands of intelligent people, who are not familiar with Greek or Latin, are nevertheless desirous of knowing something more than they know now of the great thinkers and writers among the Greeks and Romans. In these busy days, very few have leisure to peruse, even in translations, the complete works of these ancient authors; and so Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Æschylus, Sophocles among the Greeks, and Virgil, Horace, Livy, Tacitus, Pliny the Elder, the Younger Pliny, Terence, and many others among the Romans, are semi-mythical

Digitized by Google

names with multitudes who would be glad of a personal introduction, followed by a half-hour's talk or readings from them.

This is exactly what the compilers and publishers of this book propose to do, and do in a very pleasant way. The authors are presented to the reader by aid of a brief (sometimes too brief) biographical announcement, and then left to speak for themselves through selections which, generally, are well suited to exhibit the style, spirit and aim of each. In this way the man of business in leisure moments, the scholars in our public and private schools, and the members of the family circle, may all gain some knowledge of the treasures of classical literature; and in their future reading what have hitherto been merely names in books and magazines, will become living personages — philosophers, moralists, historians, poets, whose thoughts had vitality and force enough still to command, after twenty-five centuries, the respect and admiration of the world.

We invite special attention from teachers and parents to this volume. Here are more than five hundred pages of the best thoughts of the best ages of Greek and Roman culture; and nothing can be more useful as a reading book in our High Schools, in all schools where the teaching is purely English; and in all homes where father and mother take some interest in the character and quality of the books which are to furnish food for their children's minds and hearts.

14. Biblical Hermeneutics — Chiefly a Translation of the Manuel d'Hermeneutique Biblique, par J. C. Cellérier; by Chas. Elliott, D.D., and Rev. Wm. Justin Harsha. New York. A. D. Randolph & Co.

This is a work covering pretty well the ground of General Hermeneutics. So far as it retains the form and matter of the justly celebrated "Manuel" of Collérier, it is valuable. But the transition from his work to that of his editors is a painful step downwards. The reason that the student has served up to him in the same volume such a variety of mental diet is given in the preface. It seems that Collérier's work contains some "objectionable" features, which the editors have undertaken to "eliminate." The result is a mutilated book, an unscholarly and unsatisfactory work. The extent of the mutilation may be inferred from the fact that of Collérier's work, the sections partly omitted are twenty-one; the sections entirely omitted, seventeen; the sections modified, five; the sections to which additions have been made, eleven; and the sections supplied by the senior translator, five.

The editors, it seems, have followed the counsel of Dr. Godet, who is well known as an extremist of the extremists on the question of Inspiration. All impartial scholars will regret that they did not rather translate the original work as written by the lamented author, and then relegate the antidote to an appendix, if an antidote must be added. O. C.

15. Whedon's Commentary. On the Old Testament. Vol. VI. Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Songs of Solomon. Phillips & Hunt. $2 25. pp. 557.

The more we see of this Commentary, the more it grows in our esteem. From much of its doctrinal teaching, and from some of its theories and judgments respecting the character, aim, and interpretation of certain of the sacred books, we entirely dissent; but the scholarship, the critical thoroughness, and the sound common sense which mark the general exposition of the text are worthy of all praise. While we can-

Digitized by Google

not agree with Dr. Burr that Job is historical to the extent he claims, nor that Satan is a real personage who said and did the things therein written, nor that God talked audibly to Job out of the whirlwind; we hesitate not to say that his commentary is one of the most readable and informing which has come to our table, and that he has gathered into his notes, from recent historical and archæological literature, an amount of valuable knowledge and learning which is honorable to his diligent research and wide reading, and most welcome and helpful to his readers. Excursus viii., on "Behemoth and Leviathan," ix., on "Job, Edom, Egypt, and Chaldæa," and x., on "Astronomy and the Book of Job," are excellent examples of Notes enriched with the fruit of recent Assyrian and Egyptian discoveries.

The commentary on Ecclesiastes by Dr. Hyde is a good example of the wisdom of Dr. Whedon's choice of his associates in the work. We have never read a more sensible and generally satisfactory exposition of this difficult book. And in the exposition of Canticles or Solomon's Song, instead of any attempt to find in it any reference to Christ and his Church, he takes it for just what it probably is, a song celebrating the love of a shepherd and shepherdess; or as he phrases it, "exhibiting the noble tenderness and fidelity of the womanly heart under the movings of natural love." And even at that, there is an oriental license of description which does not add much to its moral value.

16. "He Giveth his Beloved Sleep." By Elizabeth Barrett Browning. With Designs by Miss L. B. Humphrey. Engraved by Andrew. Lee & Shepard. $1.50.

The delicate and dainty covers of this book are prophetic of the beautiful designs within, by which the thoughts of Mrs. Browning's favorite poem are made visible to the bodily eye. Nothing can be more fitting as a gift of remembrance to those to whom this holiday season brings tearful memories of "the loved and lost." How tender and comforting the last verse:

> "And friends, *dear* friends — when it shall be
> That this low breath is gone from me,
> And round my bier ye come to weep,
> Let one, most loving of you all,
> Say, "Not a tear must o'er her fall —
> 'He giveth His beloved sleep.'"

17. Our Women Workers. Biographical Sketches of Women Eminent in the Universalist Church for Literary, Philanthropic and Christian Work. By E. R. Hanson.

We confess to a very pleasant surprise, as we turn over the pages of this volume, and read the names "of honorable women not a few," who fill its roll of fame, and whose writings, and works of mercy, and Christian heroism, have shed such lustre on the annals of our Church. We did not know the list was so large, and Mrs. Hanson has certainly shown commendable industry in gathering such a bountiful harvest from a field which has not commonly been regarded as very rich in promise. We feared, when the book was undertaken, a lack of material, but our denominational wealth is greater than we thought. We expected something from the diligence and ability of Mrs. Hanson, but the finished work outruns all our largest expectations; and no genuine, hearty Universalist can read some of its records without a feeling of grateful pride that such women and such work are to be credited to our Church.

Doubtless some of the names might have been omitted without de-

Digitized by Google

tracting from the interest of the volume, for they are names only, even the assiduous research of the author finding nothing to say of them But then there are other names that are an honor to our common Humanity, and the women bearing them are held in loving remembrance by our entire country, and by multitudes across the seas, without regard to their creed or church connections. And the story of their deeds and sacrifices and heroic endurance on battle-fields, in hospitals, and among the suffering, has all the fascination and pathos of highest tragedy.

We should be glad to quote many eloquent passages from these narratives, as well as some of the beautiful verses by our female poets, but our space is exhausted. We can only say that here is a gift book just suited to the demands of the season; and there are many among us who would prefer it to any other present that could be offered them.

BOOK NOTES.

Ecce Spiritus. A Statement of the Spiritual Principle of Jesus as the Law of Life. George H. Ellis. $1.25.

Thoughts on the Holy Gospels: How they came to be in Manner and Form as they are. By Francis W. Upham, LL.D. Phillips & Hunt. $1.25.

A Study of the Pentateuch for Popular Reading. Being an inquiry into the Age of the so-called Books of Moses, with an Introductory Examination of recent Dutch Theories, as represented by Dr. Kuenen's "Religion of Israel." By Rufus P. Stebbins, D.D. Formerly President, Lecturer on Hebrew Literature, and Professor of Theology in Meadville Theological School. George H Ellis. $1.25. When these chapters were passing through the pages of the *Unitarian Review*, we called attention to them as notable examples of critical research, and expressed a wish that they might be put in book form. The wish is gratified in this welcome volume, which we most cordially commend to the careful study of our clergy, as a very excellent antidote to the teachings of the Destructive School of Criticism.

A Peculiar People: or Reality in Romance. By Wm. S. Balch. Chicago: Henry A Sumner & Co. $1.50.

Sunday — 1861 — Pictures and Pages. For Young and Old. With upwards of 200 Illustrations by eminent Artists. E. P. Dutton & Co.

The Orthodox Theology of To-Day. By Newman Smyth. Author of "Old Faiths in New Lights." Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.25.

Illusions: A Psychological Study. By James Sully. Author of "Sensations and Intuitions." D. Appleton & Co. $1.50.

Appleton's Home Books: "Home Amusements," and "Home Decorations." 60 cts. The designs and patterns of the last named could not be bought for three times the price of the book; and the first is just what is wanted in hundreds of families.

The Verbalist: A Manual devoted to brief Discussions of the Right and the Wrong Use of Words, and to some other matters of interest to those who would speak and write with propriety. By Alfred Ayers. D. Appleton & Co. $1.00.

The Bible Commentary, Explanatory and Critical, and a Revision of the Translation by Bishops and other clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by B. F. Cook, Canon of Exeter. New Testament. Vol. III. Romans to Philemon. Charles Scribner's Sons. $5.00.

Florida for Tourists, Invalids and Settlers: containing Practical Information regarding Climate, Soil, and Productions; Cities, Towns, and People; the Culture of the Orange, and other Tropical Fruits; Farming and Gardening; Scenery and Resorts, Sport, Routes of Travel, &c. By Geo. M. Barbour. D. Appleton & Co. $1.50.

Several pages of matter, including many Book notices, prepared for this number, must go over to our next.

Digitized by Google

"OUR WOMAN WORKERS."

We have for sale, this book by *Mrs. E. R. Hanson*, which can not fail to be A WELCOME GUEST IN EVERY UNIVERSALIST HOME.

IT CONTAINS

Biographical Sketches of the most Prominent Women who have been connected with our Church during the last three-quarters of a century. Full particulars of their lives and characteristics are presented, and, when they have been authors, extracts from their writings.

IT IS AN ELEGANT VOLUME,

such as any Universalist family will be proud to place on the centre-table. The number of names, and the character and work of those mentioned will be a revelation to most readers.

The book presents:

1. Extended sketches of those most celebrated among us as Authors, Philanthropists, or other Workers in the Master's vineyard.
2. All our ordained Woman Ministers.
3. College Professorships endowed by Women.
4. The Woman's Centenary Association.
5. The Chapin Home.
6. The State organizations.
7. Temperance workers.
8. Sunday-school workers.
9. A chapter on "Unknown Workers," by Rev. G. S. Weaver, D.D.
10. A chapter on "Ministers' Wives," by Rev. J. W. Hanson, D.D.
11. Such authors as Judith Murray, Alice and Phebe Cary, Sarah Edgarton Mayo, Caroline M. Sawyer, Julia A. Carney, Harriet G. Perry, Jane L. Patterson, Sarah Broughton, Charlotte Jerauld, Julia H. Scott, Henrietta A. Bingham, Hattie Tyng Griswold, Emily R. Page, Minnie S. Davis, Elizabeth L. Mather, and many others.
12. Such philanthropists as Sally McKinstry, Helen Gilson, Clara Barton.
13. Such workers as Caroline A. Soule, Fidelia Gillette, Olympia Brown, Eunice H. Cobb, Lucy Barnes, Mary A. Livermore, Augusta Chapin, Cordelia A. Quinby, Mary H. Adams, Phebe A. Hanaford, M. Louise Thomas, and a multitude of others.
14. The first article ever written for the press by a woman in defense of our Faith.
15. Extracts from the first Universalist book ever written by a woman in advocacy of the doctrines of our Church.

A large and beautiful company of our "elect ladies" will grace the pages of "*Our Woman Workers*, which has been written *con amore* by the authoress. She has been enthusiastically assisted by a large number of the most prominent men and women of the denomination, who have furnished facts, sketches and other material in aid of the enterprise. The volume is

A SPLENDID RECORD OF THE WORKS OF OUR WOMEN WORKERS —

a monument to the fidelity, genius, and consecration of the brightest and best of those who have graced the annals of our Church, as noble a company as ever espoused any good cause. It will show to the world the order of womanhood that our Faith attracts and produces.

The book contains fourteen fine steel and other portraits including some of the representative women of the denomination, and consist of about 500 large octavo pages of the handsomest type, paper, and binding. It will be sold at $2 75. By mail, $3.00.

There is no volume that is at once so handsome and so appropriate as a Presentation volume from or to a Universalist. It is THE HOLIDAY BOOK OF THE YEAR, and the HOME VOLUME OF THE YEARS TO COME, in our Church. For sale by

UNIVERSALIST PUBLISHING HOUSE.

Digitized by Google

NOW READY!

THE NEW BOOK.

"TALKS ABOUT THE BIBLE,

TO THE YOUNG FOLKS,"

By Rev. JOHN. G. ADAMS, D.D.

It is designed to acquaint our youth with the plain and unmistakable truths of the Gospel as held and taught by the Universalist Church; to answer clearly and candidly the questions which will always be coming up in the religious world until it is everywhere enlightened and blest with the truth of the primitive Gospel, "What do Universalists believe? and what will their Faith DO towards blessing and saving the world?" It is not a class or text book, but is intended to be, a plain instructor and an attractive companion of every youth seeking religious instruction and the religious life.

To plead its utility as an agent in our Christian work would be a waste of words. If we desire to save the rising generation from religious error and deadly unbelief, and establish their minds and hearts in the truth of the Gospel, the present seems a most befitting time to do all the active work we can in this direction.

The book contains eleven "Talks" or "Numbers" on the following topics:

1. GOD the Creator.
2. GOD Speaking in the Bible.
3. The Bible: What Has it Done?
4. Variety of Reading in the Bible.
5. How GOD Loved the World.
6. Heaven: What and Where it is.
7. Hell: What and Where it is.
8. What is Faith?
9. What is Salvation?
10. What after Death?
11. Remembrance of GOD in Youth.

The work is especially commended to the attention of our ministers, Sunday-school superintendents and teachers, parents, and all others who would promote the interests of our Church, and bless the youth looking to it for instruction, with the truth and life of our holy religion.

That the book may have the widest circulation, it will be sold at the low price of 50 *cents per* copy.

UNIVERSALIST PUBLISHING HOUSE,
PUBLISHERS,
16 BROMFIELD ST., BOSTON, MASS.

Digitized by Google

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY—IN JANUARY, APRIL, JULY, AND OCTOBER.
Terms—$3.00 per year—in advance.

MAR 30 1882

THE UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY.

CAMBRIDGE HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY MASS.

APRIL, 1882.

THOMAS B. THAYER, D.D., EDITOR.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

ART. VIII. THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH TOWARDS SKEPTICISM, ... 133
I M. Atwood, D.D.

ART. IX. MRS. JUDITH MURRAY, ... 140
Rev. Richard Eddy.

ART. X. ORIGIN AN INDICATION OF DESTINY, ... 152
Rev. R. P. Ambler.

ART. XI. CLASSICAL STUDIES, ... 162
Prof. Wm. D. Shipman, Buchtel College.

ART. XII. IRELAND, ... 173
G. H. Emerson, D.D.

ART. XIII. USE OF THE GREEK VERB *Μέλλω*, BY THE SACRED WRITERS, ... 192
Rev. O. D. Miller.

ART. XIV. THE CATACOMBS OF ROME: THEIR HISTORY AND USES, ... 210
Rev A. B. Grosh.

GENERAL REVIEW, ... 229
Old or New? — The Future of the Impenitent — The Talmud: Mishnah, Gemara — Religious World.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE. 235
The Bible Commentary, Vol III, N. T. *Romans — Philemon;* Canon Cook — Smyth's Orthodox Theology of To-Day — Morselli's Suicide; Scribner's *International Scientific Series* — Barbour's Florida — Neeley's Young Workers in the Church — Balch's A Peculiar People — Sully's Illusions, A Psychological Study — Tischendorf's Sinai and Comparative New Testament — Pierson's In the Brush — Fairbairn's Studies in the Life of Christ — Woolsey's Divorce and Divorce Legislation — Stallo's Concepts and Theories of Modern Physics; *International Scientific Series* — Upham's Thoughts on the Holy Gospels — Ayer's Verbalist — Hibbard's Book of Psalms; *Whedon's Commentary* — The Bible Commentary, Vol. IV. N. T. *Hebrews — Revelation;* Canon Cook — Morse's John Quincy Adams; *American Statesmen. Book Notes* on *Universalist Register; History Primers;* Hoar's Eulogy on Garfield; *Sunday;* Bachelor Bluff; Plumptre's Ecclesiastes.

BOSTON:
UNIVERSALIST PUBLISHING HOUSE,
16 BROMFIELD STREET.

Entered as Second Class Mail Matter.

Digitized by Google

NEW EDITION.

"THE CREATION

AND THE

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS OF SOCIETY."

By J. H. CHAPIN, Ph,D.

CONTENTS.

1. Primeval Chaos.— 2. Light.— 3. The Firmament.— 4. Plant Life.— 5. Animal Life.— 6. Reading the Record in the Rocks.— 7. Man.— 8. Beginning of Civilization, Cain and Abel.— 9. Failure of Primeval Society, the Deluge.— 10. Diversity of Tongues, Tower of Babel.— 11. Antiquity of Man.— 12. Ancient Civilization.

WHAT IS SAID OF IT.

"This work, for the general reader, is the best we have ever read. It treats of the creation of the universe in a common-sense manner, and in language which can be understood by the reading public. The book is an excellent one — a valuable contribution to the literature of the world."— *Ann Harbor Courier.*

"The writer deals with two questions that for some years past have excited wide-spread discussion in theological and scientific circles. He treats them with great fairness, and with a clearness and simplicity of style most refreshing and commendable. While not agreeing with the author *in toto*, we can yet, as a whole, heartily commend the work as a conclusive answer to much of the skepticism of the day. His facts have been gathered with care and industry, and his theories are neither notions nor vagaries. His book is excellent. We trust it may find many readers."— *Episcopal Register*, (*Baltimore*).

"I have lately read every word of this book, and to some chapters I have given a second reading, and I am glad to make record in this public way of my gratitude to the author. It seems to me to be a book much needed by that large class of people, of which I am one, who make no specialty of science, but who aspire to keep pace with the latest conclusions of the wise ones in matters of this sort. The author makes it appear that the whole plan and process are theistic, and hence he has made a contribution to faith as well as to knowledge. The three chapters, 'The Vegetable Kingdom,' 'Animal Life,' and 'Reading the Geological Record,' share all the interest of a romance, and more here than elsewhere the muse seems to have descended on the writer. But all through the book the style is fresh and pleasing. There is no confusion in the thought of the author, and so there can be none in the mind of the reader. This gives to the work a special value to the general reader, and fits it for the ordinary fireside."— REV. DR. ELLIS, *Cincinnati.*

"This book is a careful scientific review of the consecutive process of the creation, from the beginning to the appearance of man upon the earth. The subject of course is not new, but is very ably and interestingly treated." — *Boston Transcript.*

"The treatment is fresh, vigorous, clear and rational."—*Star and Covenant*, (*Chicago*).

Price, $1.75 postage paid. For sale by

UNIVERSALIST PUBLISHING HOUSE.

Digitized by Google

ARTICLE VIII.

The Attitude of the Universalist Church Towards Skepticism.

THE metaphor that lurks in the word "Attitude," offers a hinge on which this essay may turn. Attitude is the position of the body in relation to some other object. It is not contact with the object, nor does it imply any overt action directed to it. But it is very significant of what the action might be in case the feeling or intent indicated by the attitude should have occasion to issue in word or deed. We judge from the attitude of two men seen on the street that they are acquaintances or strangers, friendly or hostile. In short, attitude is the expressive sign which, without initiating action, lets it be known to all whom it concerns, what is going on at the centres of thought, feeling and will.

In consonance with this literal meaning of the word, I take its figurative import as employed in the statement of my topic to be, that the Universalist Church is not charged with the duty of treating Skepticism, still less assailing it. Whosesoever patient skepticism is, it is not ours: with whomsoever it is at war, our fate does not depend on the issue of the battle. Yet we are not skeptics, nor have we any affiliations with their ism. What, then, shall be our "attitude" towards Skepticism? What bearing is it proper for us to hold towards the genus, or its various species?

The question cannot be answered intelligently until we obtain an exact idea of the thing that passes under that name.

In its broadest meaning skepticism is unbelief in God, in moral government and the moral nature, and in the reality of spirit. In the more usual meaning, it is denial of the Divine origin and supernatural pretensions of Christianity. If one were a skeptic in the former sense, he would be, of course, in the latter: but he might be a skeptic in the latter sense without being one in the former.

Digitized by Google

It is the ground of the skepticism, however, that determines its character. Classifying on this basis I distinguish four varieties. 1. That which rejects everything to which the name religion can be applied, not from conviction but from conceit and a passion for controversy. Its type is the scorner. 2. That which distrusts Christianity on the ground that its alleged supernatural facts are not authentic. 3. Settled opposition to all supernaturalism on the conviction that it is unscientific and delusive. 4. Inability to appreciate Divine things on account of utter absorption with things of sense.

Our attitude with respect to the first of these must be that of profound aversion. The scorner, the dealer in diatribe and cheap ridicule, the vain and shallow trifler, deserves nothing but our dignified silence, except in those rare instances where it becomes imperative to answer the fool according to his folly.

Our attitude towards the second class must be very different. They doubt whether we have any valid reasons for our Christian faith. In most cases I think it will be found that they have never heard an apologist state the evidences, and their presumption is that theologians and ministers take the whole matter on trust, as they observe that most other Christians do. The remedy for this state of mind is obvious,—instruction. From the pulpit, but more effectively, because at closer range, in the Bible-class, let the evidences of the genuineness and credibility of the Christian documents be clearly and fairly presented. I have reason to fear that this work is too generally overlooked, and I have been in the way of learning that many persons, old as well as young, women as well as men, have slipped away into infidelity for lack of instruction on this point. It is quite the fashion, I am aware, to say that the evidences should be moral, not historical; that people in our day are impatient of apostolic and patristic testimonies; and that the evidences are of no moment any way, since Christianity, like beauty, is its own excuse for being. This is an error, with just enough truth in it to make it attractive to the shallow. Historical evidence requires, it is

Digitized by Google

true, moral support: or, to state it concretely, you cannot make an intelligent mind believe that an irrational and wicked system came from Heaven by piling up affidavits. But it does not follow that your system will be accepted as Divine simply because it is reasonable and benevolent. It is a conviction of mankind that a religion which really came from God can be historically traced to its origin. Let some one try the experiment of getting a religion accepted as Divine on the ground of internal evidences alone, and he will discover presently that his proof is incomplete and inconclusive. He is in precisely the same predicament with the critic who would persuade the world that a certain play attributed to Shakspeare, but not certainly known to be his, is genuine. His argument from internal indications may be very strong, and may carry many minds with him; but in the nature of the case it never can be conclusive. Other critics will take the other side, and the debate will rage through many generations. The dispute will stop only when clear historical evidence, either for or against its genuineness, is discovered. We have these two kinds of evidence for our religion: the proof is not complete until the mind has felt the force of both.

The third variety of Skepticism,— distrust of the supernatural as a thing unscientific and delusive,— takes on the air of greatest assurance, and creates most stir in our day. It is, perhaps, the tone of confidence with which the exponents of this type of unbelief speak, that most affects the popular judgment and most intimidates the weak brethren in the churches. They speak, too, from a certain inaccessible height of superior knowledge. They are, usually, men of some scientific reputation — or men who speak in their name — whose dictum the public has not been accustomed to review, because in most cases special knowledge is requisite to an opinion on the subject. The habit of deference to their word on the part of the public gives them nearly as much advantage when they discuss subjects with which they have no peculiar acquaintance, as when they confine themselves to their own specialties. A scientific priesthood has arisen in this generation which affects

Digitized by Google

a knowledge of the inscrutable denied to other mortals, and supports the pretension with the plea that it knows more of physiology and chemistry than the laity. It is this priesthood that furnishes the symbols and the paraphernalia of our most imposing skepticism.

What is our proper attitude towards it? Not hostility, and not sympathy; but an alert interest, much like that the wise teacher has in the extravagancies of his most promising boys, — things to be sometimes smartly corrected, and sometimes amiably tolerated, and always keenly watched; but in such a spirit and temper as gives evidence of a permanent desire for their true welfare. We should have a care not to be found wanting in hospitality for any disclosure of science. The Church would better use her activity in lighting the torches wherewith the men of science shall explore the arcana of nature, than waste her breath in vainly trying to blow them out. The student of nature is stirred by a Divine passion also. This interesting, beautiful, mysterious creation invites and allures the hungry intellect; and I count him my coadjutor and fellow evangelist who tracks the thought of God across those boundless fields, and brings in tidings of His unnoticed gospel, preached in atom or in star, and interlines the sordid page of human ambitions and pleasures with the record of a pure passion for truth.

Moreover, it is required of us, who are in some sense the vanguard of the Church, to know what we are saying when we feel called on to controvert the positions of this school of skeptics. It will do for the antediluvians in theology to combat the materialist with antediluvian learning. But if we would not have him cover his face to conceal his smile, we must confront him with an intelligence and a fulness of knowledge which will sober his conceit, and compel his respect. A thousand pamphlets were flung at the head of John Tyndall, but only a half-dozen of them hit the mark. When James Martineau took aim, the invincible Lucretian put up his shield, for he knew that an unerring marksman was covering him with perhaps the most finely tempered and exactly

Digitized by Google

loaded intellectual weapon in the Queen's domain. Above everything else, our attitude towards this particular stripe of skepticism should be, one of adequate intelligence.

The fourth species of skepticism is, to my thought, by far the most alarming. While the others number their victims by hundreds, this enrolls its thousands. It springs out of the same prolific mire that yields such an appalling harvest of sins peculiar to civilization,— the complete absorption of the human faculties in a world of sense. As the phase of skepticism which I have described as an incident of the rapid development and diffusion of physical science, presents to our view a condition of mere intellectualism, so this phase reveals one of the evil effects of mere worldliness. An "undevout astronomer is mad," because his inductions are all intellectual. His telescope admits no moral lens. In a similar manner, but on a lower plane, the man who is thoroughly taken up and filled full with his pursuits or his pleasures,— with his farming, trading, railroading, housekeeping; or with his club, his yacht, his horses, his gun, his liquor, his lark, has no data for spiritual convictions. He is without God and without hope. Not because God and hope are absent, but because the god of this world has blinded his mind.

The opinion that skepticism is uniformly the result of considerable thinking on the problems of religion, and that it is to be looked for only in the case of persons of a peculiarly strong and keen intelligence, has, I think, a slender foundation. There are hard-headed skeptics; but my experience is that there are many more whose heads display the opposite quality. By far the larger part of the skepticism of our day is marked by its lack of thought. Its weakness, if I may be pardoned so bold a paradox, is its strong point. It is entrenched in impotency. If it were vigorous and intelligent, it could be understood and grappled with. But it does not understand itself. It takes no stand, formulates no propositions, contends for no principle. It simply does not believe in anything supernatural or spiritual. And the reason that it does not believe in them is, that it has never thought or

Digitized by Google

felt its way up out of sense relations. The only thing awake in it is the carnal mind: what wonder that it is at enmity with God?

And what is our fitting attitude towards this kind of unbelief? I think, if we know what manner of spirit we are of, if we understand what Christianity as interpreted by the thought of Universalism is, we shall look on this largest and dullest division of the host of skepticism, as a part of that greater host of sin and sense enslaved mortals, in whose emancipation we believe, but whose fetters we well understand can only be broken by the power of that truth which they deny. Viewing them as a particular phenomenon of a general law, viz., that they who are of the flesh do mind the things of the flesh, and recognizing the legitimacy of unbelief in Divine things as a consequence of giving oneself up utterly to earthly things, we shall yearn after them with something of our Master's deep desire, and shall seek them with a mighty, tireless, conquering quest.

It is true these are not a particularly attractive variety of sinners. For although there are many grades of them, they all have the common characteristic of being full,—surfeited with their work or their play, their ambitions or gratifications. They have no room for your gospel of the Kingdom. This world of traffic and fashion, of politics and society, of enterprises and pageants, is the only kingdom they have time or taste for. If you get their ear for a moment, it is only the ear, and dull to your highest word at that. Discouraging it is to feel for souls so muffled with sense that they cannot be touched. Baffling to attempt to raise the voice of the Lord, whose lightest whisper is heard by him who dwells in the quiet upper air, loud enough to penetrate ears already filled with the roar of this boisterous world.

But it is no part of any sinners's accomplishments to be attractive to missionaries and ministers, or amiable to evangelists. If we confined our efforts for the salvation of men to those who charm us by their simplicity and goodness, it is much to be doubted whether our work would keep us awake.

Digitized by Google

It is the alphabet of the Gospel that sinners must be sought. And it got abroad at a very early day that sin disfigures the fair proportions of human character and makes the soul unlovely. If we are fastidious, we are unfit for this work. Our business is to cleanse the pollution of earth. If it were clean we should not be wanted. No phase of sin can be dark enough to deter us if we take fully the thought that we, like our Master, have not come to call the righteous but sinners to reformation. And what fits every successor of Jesus in the ministry of reconciliation to enter on the great work, and forbids him to call any child of God common or unclean, is a share in the love of God which was manifested in the Christ. That love goes down to the bottom of the humanity it is to lift up, and staggers not at ignorance, depravity, obstinacy, that it may find and save the lost treasure, a priceless human soul. And if we would not shrink from the foul atmosphere of sin and guilt, we surely will not hold back from those who are not positively bad — not dead in trespasses and sins, but only drunk with the world's new wine.

It appears, from this survey, that while each variety of skepticism calls for some variation in our attitude, none of them requires us to forsake our regular and principal business, as teachers of truth and promoters of righteousness. Probably we could commit no graver error in the premises than to turn aside from our beneficent constructive work to preach a crusade against skepticism. It would divert the stream of our power from the wheel that moves the useful mechanism of church and religious life; and it would give an exaggerated importance to unbelief. Besides, skepticism is to be cured by religious nurture and development,— by the whole process of Christian education and influence which it is the function of a Church to organize and operate. The power to smite this rock and make its hidden fountain flow, is in the Gospel. The Gospel is the energy of God communicated to the sluggish currents of natural life to make our moral pulse beat quick enough to come into rhythm with the life divine. If we preach it with the emphasis of conviction and the under-

Digitized by Google

tone of a pure ardor for human good; if we organize it adequately, and administer it intelligently; if we put a clearer brain and a sounder heart into our religion than men encounter elsewhere, I believe we shall find, that to cure a skeptic, and to convert a sinner from the error of his way, are a simultaneous process.

All classes of sinners are out of their proper relations with spiritual verities, and in consequence are not responsive to the thrills of a higher and heavenly life. It is but a step from this torpor of spirit to doubt of its existence, and so of the whole realm with which the spirit connects us. We should not go far astray if we spelled sensualism, skepticism. All alienation from God implies unbelief of Him. It follows, therefore, that to correct moral aberration is to restore faith; and conversely, to revive the lost spiritual consciousness is to check the wanderer, and draw his feet into the path of virtue. Both of these agencies are authorized by our religion. But the latter, the method of communicating eternal life by a Divine touch, is peculiarly the method of Christianity. Our redemption cometh from above. As in the classic fable, a drop of celestial fire would lick up the awful Styx that flowed round the underworld, and convert Pluto's kingdom into a palace for Jove, so in the economy of God, the fire of His consuming love, descending in the person of His beloved Son, dries up the dark stream of sin, which flows from sense, and transforms the kingdoms of evil and hate and doubt and lust and lucre, into the Kingdom of Heaven.

Article IX.

Mrs. Judith Murray.

In a previous article on Mrs. Murray, mention was made of a description, given by her, of the Building occupied by Congress, in New York, in 1790; and of an interesting visit made

Digitized by Google

by her to President and Mrs. Washington. In the belief that these accounts will interest others, the following extracts are made from her letters to her parents. Of the Federal Building, she says:

"Almost entirely unacquainted with the terms of Art, for me to attempt a delineation may be deemed presumptive, yet a slight sketch I nevertheless essay. Its situation has been pronounced ill-judged; it rises, however, at the head of Broad street, of which it commands an entire view. On its right, is an elegant Church nearly finished, and on its left a good street of a thrifty appearance. The Federal structure is magnificently pleasing and sufficiently spacious. The large pillars in front, exactly in the centre, support an equal number of columns and a pediment. A large gallery is also displayed, in which, in the presence of Almighty God, and in view of a numerous concourse of people, the illustrious and immortal Washington took his oath of office, being thus solemly inaugurated with power which we doubt not he will always exercise with increasing celebrity to himself and for the public weal. Thirteen stars of American Arms crested with the spread Eagle, with other insignia, in the pediment, and tablets over each window filled with the thirteen Arrows inwreathed with the olive branch, beautify the front. Upon entering, we are introdued into a square room paved with stone, from which we pass on to the vestibule in the centre of the pile. This vestibule is lofty, and is floored with marble; it is beautifully finished with a handsome iron gallery and a skylight richly adorned. From this vestibule we are led in front to the door of the Representatives' Room, and through arches on either side by a public staircase on the left, and a private one on the right, to the Senate Chamber, and other apartments. The Representatives' Room is spacious and elegant. It is worthy the respectable assembly at this time convened. It is, I am told, sixty-one feet deep, fifty-eight wide, and thirty-six high. Its ceiling is arched. The form of this apartment I should have called oval, but I believe the technical term is rectangular. Four of its sides are rounded in the manner of niches, which adds to the beauty and gracefulness. The windows are large, wainscoated below, interrupted only by stories, which, I think, are four in number. Above are columns and pilasters with entablatures variously disposed, and in the panels between the windows are carved trophies and the letters, 'U. S.,' sur-

Digitized by Google

rounded with laurel. The Speaker's chair is opposite the principal door, and is raised three steps. The Members' chairs are ranged in a semi-circle. Placed before them is a writing stand furnished with a drawer, pen, ink and paper; with one of these every member is accommodated, and there are a number of these stands connected in one piece, making a segment of a circle. Upon the right and left of the Speaker are semi-circular compartments, in which are tables, where sit the clerks. Over the great door, and fronting the Speaker, are two galleries; the lower gallery projecting considerable, —this is commonly filled with gentlemen during the session, —and the upper is devoted to the ladies. Besides these galleries, there is a space on the floor, separated by a bar, at the service of any one who may be disposed to occupy it. There are three doors exclusive of the principal one adverted to. The chairs, hangings, and curtains in this room are of light blue Harateen, fringed and tasseled. The floor is covered with an elegant carpet.

From Speaker Goodhue we received many civilities. He introduced us into the upper gallery, where we attended the debates of Congress for near four hours. It was an august scene to behold the delegates of America thus filling their chairs; a solemn awe pervaded my bosom, a new and an unknown sensation inspired an enraptured kind of veneration, and I prepared myself to listen with the most profound attention. But shall I own a truth? Let it be in a whisper, however, my reverential feelings considerably abated as I observed the apparent negligence of many of the members. A question of much importance was agitated and investigated by the several speakers with a warmth, perspicuity and energy which did them honor; while gentlemen with all imaginable *sang froid*, were walking to and fro, their hats occasionally on or off, reading the newspapers, lolling on their writing stands, picking their nails, biting the head of their canes, examining the beauty of their shoe-buckles, ogling the galleries, &c., &c. Yet we were fortunate enough to hear some of the best speakers, among whom were Mr. Madison, Mr. Sedgwick, Mr. Jackson, and Mr. Vinning.

From the stair-case on the left hand of the vestibule we reach a lobby which communicates with the iron gallery, and leads at one side to the galleries of the Representatives' room, and at the other to the Senate Chamber. The Senate Chamber is pleasingly decorated, the pilasters, &c., have a graceful and dignified air, and amid the foliage of the capitals

Digitized by Google

is displayed a star surrounded with rays, while a piece of drapery below suspends a small medallion with a comprehensive 'U. S.' in a cypher. The ceiling is ornamented with a sun and thirteen stars, which appear in its centre. The chimnies are finished with American marble, which is said to equal for the beauty of its shades and polish any found in Europe. The President's chair graces the upper end of the room. It is elevated a considerable height from the floor and is placed under a canopy of crimson damask. The chairs, which are arranged in a semi-circle, as in the room of the Representatives, with the window curtains and hangings are also of crimson damask, and the floor is richly carpeted. From the throne or Chair of State, his Highness, the Protector of the Union, delivers a speech at the opening of Congress, and at the close of the session, which varies in form and manner but little from those delivered by a British Sovereign. We differ in nothing but in name, and perhaps the time is not far distant which may invest us with Royal dignities. Besides the rooms of which I have attempted the outlines, there are many others — committee rooms, guard rooms, and a Library. In the room of audience we were shown portraits of the King and Queen of France, which are very fine paintings. On one side of the Federal edifice we are presented with a platform, railed in with iron, which affords an agreeable walk, and upon the top is a cupola in good taste, which is highly ornamental, has a pleasing effect, and seems to give a finishing to the whole."

The foregoing was written in May, 1790, as Mr. and Mrs. Murray were *en route* to Philadelphia. On their return, in August, they remained in New York several days, and the incidents of their stay are thus described:

"The churches in New York are all shut against Mr. Murray, but we met his friends, among whom are some of the most respectable characters, both forenoon and afternoon, in the Assembly Room, and the evening produced many ladies, who did me the honor to call upon me. Monday, Mr. Murray, as the Minister of the Universal Gospel, presented the Address of the Churches, professing Universalism, to the President of the United States, and was most graciously received. The form of the Address, with the Answer, will doubtless reach you in the line of public intelligence, long before the period in which this letter is destined to kiss your

Digitized by Google

hands. While Mr. Murray waited at the President's, Mrs. Washington dispatched a message from her apartment, importing that she would be pleased with a visit from Mrs. Murray, and that if Mrs. Murray preferred enjoyment to ceremony, she need not wait for a levee day, for that she, Mrs. Washington, would certainly be at home whenever it would suit Mrs. Murray's convenience. His Excellency also deigned to inquire if I now enjoyed my health. This, you will believe, was highly flattering.

"Well, we dined on Monday with Dr. Smith, the gentleman who wrote the volume of Letters in your possession. He is, I find, one of the principal physicians in New York. He is a man of information, pleasing in his manners, and polite in his address. His lady is an agreeable woman, and their style of living is elegant. But of Dr. Smith more anon. Thus passed the second day of the week, and we went to bed and to sleep as usual. At length the important Tuesday of this good month of August, the tenth day, in this year 1790, big with expectation, dawned upon us. I cannot say my heart was entirely at ease; it would flutter, *nolens volens*, though I assure you that I endeavored to reason most sagely. I, however, busied myself all the morning, and the afternoon presenting Mrs. Greene, the General's widow, her easy vivacity helped to arrange my feelings. This lady seemed to be mistress of a good flow of spirits. I believe her disposition is uniformly happy, and her countenance is beautiful. In her appearance she retains not the least vestige of widowhood. She was dressed in white muslin, and a small chip hat lined and trimmed with green, smartly cocked, and worn upon one side, made up the whole of her head-dress. About six o'clock, we took a coach for the President's. At the door of the Great Hall we were met by a well-looking and more than commonly well-dressed servant. I, however, recollected myself, and neither bow'd nor curtsied. At the foot of the stairs, Col. Humphreys offered his hand and ushered us into the Drawing Room. A number of ladies were with Mrs. Washington, and her matron-like appearance, and lady-like condescension soon dissipated every idea of distance. Taking my hand, she seated me by her side, and addressing herself particularly to me, as the only stranger present, she engaged me in the most familiar and agreeable conversation. She inquired respecting my journey, if my acquaintance in New York was extensive, and in what part of the city I lodged. She informed me that she had the pleasure of being acquainted with my brother, and

Digitized by Google

she spoke of his late marriage, and of the sudden death of his companion, as events which had interested her feelings. I cast my eyes round the room, and I read also in the countenances of the ladies a kind of pleasing respect. Mr. Murray was engaged with Col. Humphreys, who likewise regarded me with flattering attention.

"Thus were we disposed of when General Washington entered the Drawing Room. My eyes had never before beheld him, but it was not necessary that he should be announced; that dignified benignity which is so remarkable in his air, could not belong to any other man. Mrs. Washington herself introduced me. I arose, and with a countenance that bespoke not my heart if it was not impressed with affectionate respect and the highest degree of veneration, and in the most marked and expressive manner of which I was capable, performed my duteous salutations. A smile of kindness illumined the features of the President,—he requested me to be seated, and taking a place by my side, proceeded with peculiar affability to question me relative to my health, to Philadelphia, to my brother, &c., &c. To descant on the virtues of General Washington, however exhaustless the theme, frequently as they have been expatiated upon, and inadequate as I am to the task, I shall not essay; yet I so far indulge myself as to state that his figure is elegant, beyond the most I have seen; his countenance is good, and there is a kind of venerable gravity inscribed upon every feature. Homer's Nestor, as I sat by his side, frequently occurred to my imagination; and this I know, that no Grecian dame could have more admired the hoary sage, or held him in higher estimation, than my heart acknowledged for this uniform hero. His dress was of purple satin, but his figure needed not the aid of this regal dye to inspire those sentiments which are commonly considered the tribute to Royalty only. Majestic and commanding, his appearance must ever insure the love and reverence of every unprejudiced beholder. 'To speak truth of the President,' the Vice President says, 'is impossible. No painter will ever be able to do him justice, for that which he possesseth beyond any other man, the art of the limner, or the language of the panegyrist, however glowing, can ever reach.' It is a grace in every movement, a manner, an address, an inimitable expression, especially when the sedate dignity of his features is gilded by a serene smile; in short, a nameless something in the *tout ensemble* which no skill can delineate, no art can catch, and which, therefore, no portraiture can ever transmit.

Digitized by Google

"Mrs. Washington's face is an index of a good heart, and the virtues which I am told she eminently possesses, are impressed upon every feature. Need I then add, that her countenance is prepossessing and charming?

"The present residence of Gen'l Washington is in Broadway, and the edifice which he occupies presents to that street a superb front. The Drawing Room, and the apartments of which we had a view, are lofty and magnificently spacious; the furniture is rich, but it does not surpass what I have before seen in other opulent dwellings. The upper end of the Drawing Room is pierced with three glass doors, which open into a handsome Balcony, commanding an extensive view of the Hudson, interspersed with beautiful islands, and washing the Jersey shore upon the opposite side. In this Balcony Mr. Murray was honored with a pleasing *tete-a-tete* with his Excellency. In this Balcony, after we had taken our tea, Mrs. Washington requested we would walk, and in this Balcony, Mrs. Greene. taking her leave, thus addressed your daughter: 'To-morrow, Madam, I early leave New York for Hartford,—my stay there will be short,— I shall proceed to Rhode Island, where, having made my visit, I shall return to this city. I then propose passing some time with my girls at Bethlehem, from whence I proceed to Georgia. At the idea of Georgia I feel a pang for which I cannot account. Possibly I may never see you more, but should you ever hear that I am fixed to any one spot, remember I early knew your husband; I no sooner knew but I loved him,— remember, then, my claim hath the privilege of priority. I am among the first of his friends, and as such, I urge my pretensions to your regard. Remember, then, I say, that I am entitled to some portion of your time, and when I again commence house-keeping, I shall expect you upon the most familiar footing.'

"In the course of the two hours which we passed at the President's, various topics of conversation were introduced. Mrs. Washington was condescendingly attentive to me. As a stranger, I was constantly at her side. Addressing me in a low voice, she spoke of her family. She has been a happy mother, and has had one son and one daughter by a former husband. They now, however, both sleep in the narrow house. One son and three daughters are the surviving offspring of Mrs. Washington's son. 'I knew,' said Mrs. Washington, 'my daughter-in-law would soon enter into new obligations, and therefore urged her to yield to me her two youngest children, which she obligingly did'; and accordingly a

Digitized by Google

grandson and granddaughter reside constantly at the President's. Mrs. Washington has also educated a niece, who has since married a nephew of the General's, and the young couple now reside at, and have care of, the fine estate at Mount Vernon, whither the President and his Lady, during the approaching recess of Congress, will bend their steps. The family thus circumstanced, it is hardly to be regretted that the General has no son to whom to transmit his honors and his virtues. His name cannot but be immortal, and the Sons of Columbia are their children. Mrs. Washington's grandson is about nine years old. We but just saw him. Her granddaughter is hardly eleven. She is a fine, sprightly girl. The President and his lady both complained that she was not sufficiently industrious, and that she was much too vivacious; but she played to us at tne first word, and her performance evinced that she had her hours of application. She is, I am told, a child of very extraordinary capacity, attention only being requisite to her acquiring attainments deemed beyond her years. She assures her preceptors that if they will allow her frivolity till she has completed her twelfth year, she will yield the rest of her life to their directions. Some pieces of her drawing were shown me; they merited much praise, and you will not doubt, were applauded. The ladies severally solicited her to execute for them some pretty flower, which might serve them as a memorial of her opening genius. Miss Custis makes it a rule to promise what she is not always certain of performing, and the sweet pliability of her mind rendering refusals painful, she fled to my elbow for shelter, and in a whisper she thus accosted me: 'Only think, Ma'am, how solicitous everybody is; and Mrs. Greene absolutely insists upon my finishing a piece for her, though she leaves New York early to-morrow morning.' 'My pretty Love,' I returned, 'your paintings are so excellent that it is hardly to be wondered at that the ladies are so earnest to possess them. I do assure you that, had I an equal claim, I should be equally urgent; but, stranger as I am, I presume not on the petition.' Whether it was my manner, or what, I pretend not to say, but she appeared amazingly struck and affected. Seizing my hand, she tenderly questioned: 'Pray, when do you leave town?' 'On Saturday, we expect, or Monday at farthest.' 'Well, Ma'am,' she rejoined, 'if it is possible, I will sketch for you a flower piece before then.' I was most agreeably surprised, and pressing her forehead with my lips, I returned, 'Thank you, my little charmer, very sincerely I thank you;

Digitized by Google

and even if you should not find time to execute an intention so flattering to me, this sweet and spontaneous effusion will ever be pleasingly marked upon my memory.' Turning to Mrs. Washington, I related our confab. The President listened, and they both smiled their approbation. Thus passed our afternoon. Never did I see less restraint. The common tea-parties in a country village have more of ceremony; and we took our leave penetrated with a proper sense of the honor which had been done us. Mrs. Washington, in the course of our side-conversation, spoke to me of the General's late dangerous illness, and while she expressed her happiness in his present restoration, a tear of apprehension was in her eye. I embraced this opportunity of correctly expressing my feelings, and while I adverted to the common interest that every American held in a life so precious, I allowed the superiority of her sacred claims.

"Thursday very unexpectedly opened another scene. I was sitting in my little apartment alone, and buried in thought. Strange that I possessed not the smallest presentiment of the distinction that awaited me! but so it was, when a loud rap at the door roused my attention. I cast my eyes towards the passage, where a servant plentifully adorned with gold lace, &c., appeared, and enquired for Mrs. Murray. I was on the point of answering that he had the advantage of that lady, as she did not remember meeting him before; but fortunately, on extending my view, a gay equipage, elegant beyond what I had ever imagined, presented itself; and I was at home, you will not doubt. Mrs. Washington and Mrs. Lear were immediately ushered in. If anything could exceed my surprise, it was the charming freedom with which Mrs. Washington took a seat. The unmeaning fopperies of ceremony seem to make no part of her character. Inborn benevolence beams upon her countenance; it apparently points her address, dictating to her lips the most agreeable expressions. One hour she condescendingly devoted to me, and so much of friendship did her salutations wear, so interested and animated was our conversation, that a bystander would have lost all idea of the distance between us, and would hardly have supposed that we met but for the second time. Thus benignly good, and thus adorned with social virtues is our Lady Presidentess. I confess that in a way perfectly agreeable to my feelings, I have been gratified. Had I paid my court upon a Levee, as I first intended, I should have seen, it is true, these illustrious char-

Digitized by Google

acters, but I should not then have been familiarly distinguished.

"The manner of the Levee, Mrs. Greene obligingly gave me an account of. The apartments are always greatly crowded. The lady is introduced, she curtsies low to Mrs. Washington, but not a single word is exchanged. She then steps back, mixes in the rooms, takes her share of tea, coffee, cakes, in great variety, fruits, ices, lemonade, wine, &c., and at the close of her visit, she is again led up, makes her silent obeisance, as before, and departs.

"The Levee of the President is held upon a Tuesday; it is from three to four in the afternoon. The President himself then stands, and of course no one else takes a seat,— nor is any refreshment offered. In addition to my former account of these levees, I present you these circumstances, as my authority, Mrs. Greene, is undoubted, and everything relative to these characters becomes of importance.

"Mrs. Washington informed me, in the course of her visit, that her granddaughter was busily employed, and that she indulged a hope that she should be able to accomplish the promised flower piece. Of this attention I could not fail of expressing a becoming sense. Early accustomed as this young lady is to the sweet incense of flattery, many persons seeking to make their court by pointedly distinguishing this opening bud of worth, it would not be strange to find her affected and capricious. But the reverse of this is truth,— easy and unassuming, her manners are beautifully simple, and she fails not to prepossess beholders in her favor.

"Friday morning we paid a visit to Mr. Trumbull, who is engaged in taking a full length portrait of the President. The piece is at least seven feet high, and our Trumbull has happily caught the very mind, as well as the figure of the President. It is an admirable likeness, his character is impressed upon every feature, and notwithstanding the observation of the Vice President, we are ready to say it is indeed the very air, the manner, the moving soul of our illustrious chief. This noble painting is done from life, at the request of the City Corporation, and it is to make the principal ornament of the Federal Building. Mr. Trumbull's room was as much crowded as if the President had personally presided at the Levee. It was agreeable to observe the pleasing emotions of the crowd; a concordant murmuring of applause ran through the whole assembly, males and females. 'Look! it's the President himself,— Trumbull has fortunately hit him off!' 'See! that

Digitized by Google

thoughtfulness in every feature! what a noble figure! how graceful is his attitude!' 'O Mr. Trumbull, you have made New York infinitely happy! Was ever anything so martial!' 'Methinks the whole of his military career, his sedateness, his prodigious resources, his self-command, his efforts, and his success, all stand confessed in that assemblage of strong lines, so justly, and in a manner so masterly delineated.' Thus they went on. Trumbull has indeed described the General. The horse, you know, is always an appendage to a Military Commander-in-Chief, and in the portraits which I have hitherto seen of our Hero, the steed, as if conscious of his importance, with head erect, seems almost the most prominent figure in the piece. Trumbull has judiciously obviated this incongruity,— a fly has fastened on the foreleg of the horse, and this brings down the head of the animal to revenge the temerity of the insect. Thus is the General unrivalled, and though ample justice is done to the parts and proportion of the horse, yet he presumes not to arrest, in the first instance, our attention.

"From this scene we proceeded to another of more general importance. The illustrious object of our veneration was to take a part in a most interesting transaction. The Indian Treaty was to be ratified in public, and we took our seats in that superb hall where the delegates of the United States so lately appeared in Council. Behold, then, the galleries filled with a respectable, curious, and highly gratified populace, males and females, indiscriminately seated, gentlemen of the first rank ranged in the body of the Representatives' Room, without the pales, the handsome and commodious seats filled by a brilliant circle of ladies, richly habited, and displaying some of the most beautiful faces which nature, when bounteously indulgent, can bestow. Mrs. Washington took her seat; elegant women composed her train, and her grandson and granddaughter were upon either hand. The Chair of State was empty, a number of chairs also upon the left, were vacant, and the Vice President took his place upon the right. Suddenly, rude and tumultuous sounds were heard; loud and terrific they vibrated upon the ear; the sound of shrieks and yells was mingled with those of riot and mirth. 'What is this?' every eye seemed to ask. It was the Song of Peace, as sung by the kings, chiefs and warriors of the Creek nation. Having entered the Hall, they filled the vacant chairs, and suspended their untutored joy, or at least the savage expression of it. They were dressed in a complete uniform of blue faced with red, and the Chief, McGillivary, took the lead.

Digitized by Google

The heads of some were bound about with a handkerchief, others were ornamented with feathers, wreaths, &c., and all were fancifully painted, and decorated with earrings and nose jewelry. Thus was the assembly disposed when the illustrious President of the United States appeared, followed by his suite. He was habited in rich vestments of purple satin. Every eye was upon him,—equally he distributes his benignant regards, bowing with much grace, he ascended to the chair. A reverential silence pervaded the assembly, and the Articles of the Treaty were read by the Secretary. . . . . The Treaty being read, General Washington, rising from his seat, delivered his sentiments in his accustomed elegant, energetic and animated manner, to the citizens, and the kings, chiefs and warriors assembled. He observed that, as far as he could judge, the Treaty was mutually beneficial. He recommended a spirit of amity, and he added that a studied cultivation of peace was expected. . . . And he prayed the Great Spirit, the Master of their breath, to forbid the infringement of a contract formed under such happy auspices. The Address was solemn and appropriate, and it was delivered in sentences, which thus detached, were communicated by a sworn interpreter to the Indians. In their own manner, to each particular they audibly assented; and the signing of the Treaty succeeded. The President then presented to McGillivary, as a token of perpetual peace, a string of beads, with tobacco to supply the calumet of friendship. McGillivary, in whom the Indian sovereignty is vested, received the tokens, returned a short speech, and complimented the President with the wampum; and then the kings, chiefs and warriors advanced with native elevation, and even majestically. The shake of peace, with the usual warmth was performed, McGillivary joining hands in the accustomed mode, and a few of the Indians followed his example, but the majority seizing the President by the elbow, entwined their arms with his, and ardently expressed their satisfaction. A Song of Peace from the Indians concluded this affecting and important transaction.

"Friday also presented the drawing from Miss Eleanor Custis,—it was a flower piece, of which a beautiful Moss Rose, fully blown, with its buds and surrounding foliage elegantly painted, are the most conspicuous."

The letter concluded with quite a lengthy poetic acknowledgment to Miss Custis.

Digitized by Google

ARTICLE X.

Origin an Indication of Destiny.

THE question of human destiny, when viewed in the light of natural principles, is found to hinge entirely on the antecedent question of origin. Whether man is destined to live beyond the grave, or whether he will be lost in the chaos of disintegrated atoms, will depend primarily on the nature of the source from which his being is derived. If he is simply a phenomenal result which has been thrown out by the action of forces generated in the bosom of Nature, no higher end can be anticipated for him than ultimate dissolution; but if, on the other hand, he is the outbirth of a Soul which, while it lives in Nature, is superior to it — a Soul which, being self-existent, is by necessity immortal — we may then reasonably believe that he has a spiritual life which is not subject to the process of decay, and which, not having been derived from the physical world, will not be destroyed by physical changes. Human immortality is thus connected with the Divine Existence as closely as the stream with the fountain. If the world is without a God, as the so-called science of our time covertly suggests, then man is without a future. There is in such a case nothing on which we can predicate the possibility of continued existence; and hence with those who reject the theistic interpretation of Nature, there can be no hope for man beyond the narrow boundaries of this life. In view of this fact the inquiry becomes in the highest degree important, whence came man? —what is the primary source from which his being originated? This inquiry the materialist answers by saying that man has been evolved from the elements of the physical world; that he is the outbirth and sum of all those natural forces which are represented in the composition of earth, water, and air. But does this explanation cover all the facts of which we are cognizant, and does it answer all the demands which reason would naturally make in dealing with this question? Let us place the matter here presented on

Digitized by Google

purely philosophical grounds, and see to what conclusions our reasonings will logically lead.

I. *Man's Origin.*

It is safe to assume that man, as the highest representative of the universe, has been created, or evolved, (if the latter term is more scientifically correct,) by the highest power in it — that is, by the supreme or primary power lying back of all subordinate agents. But what is that power? Are we to view it as an essential property of matter? Is it something which resides in, and belongs to, the very nature of the primal elements? Philosophers of the materialistic school would of course reply affirmatively to these questions. There are, however, serious difficulties in the way of such a solution of the problem. To suppose that the primary power in Nature is a property of matter, is to suppose that matter originates its own movements, and contains within itself the force by which its forms are moulded and controlled. But when we have accepted this hypothesis, we find ourselves committed to the solecism of attributing to matter opposite and irreconcilable qualities; for we concede, in the very idea of generated motion, that matter is something which waits to be moved, and then we proceed to affirm that it is itself a motive power; we admit that this universal substance has the quality of passivity, needing to be moulded and controlled, and yet declare that itself supplies an active, impelling force; in short, the hypothesis compels us to assume that matter is at the same time both a weight to be lifted and the power which lifts the weight. We cannot consistently accept both sides of this statement. Matter cannot be in its essential nature both passive and active. If it be, according to our best observation, possessed of such properties as figure, extension, and weight; if, in other words, it be something that waits to be moulded, and therefore to be moved, then the motive power is not identical with it — that is to say, it does not move itself.

There is, it is true, a principle known in natural philosophy, as the force of gravity; but this is not an inherent energy in the molecules of matter, but only an attraction between mass-

Digitized by Google

es, which, instead of producing continuous motion, results in passivity. Take, for example, a wheel suspended on an axle. The wheel cannot move itself, and will consequently remain without motion until force is applied. If now a weight is attached to the circumference of the wheel at any point beyond the centre of gravity, motion will be produced; but this motion will cease when the weight is brought by the revolution of the wheel within the line of gravity: and no adjustment of weights, however complicated and ingenious, could produce a different result, since the gravitating force would sooner or later balance itself, and so in the end prevent motion, instead of making it continuous. It is for this reason that the idea of "perpetual motion" as applied to any mechanical contrivance, involves a natural impossibility.

The power, then, by which the universe is moved, and by which man, its noblest representative, has been brought into being, is not a property of matter; and this conclusion is supported by the fact that matter in all its forms and in all grades of refinement, manifests a natural tendency toward equilibrium and a consequent state of rest. A cannon ball may be thrown to a great distance, and with a high degree of velocity; but as soon as the force that was developed by the explosive agent employed has been expended, it sinks to the earth and becomes motionless. The stream, issuing from its spring in the mountains, rushes on in its course, perhaps through many miles of distance; but in doing this it is constantly seeking its level, and when that is reached it becomes placid and still. Steam when confined, is a powerful agent, developing rapid motion among its particles; but, as soon as it is allowed to escape, it falls back into its original aqueous form, and is at rest. What destruction is often seen in the path of the hurricane! Yet this is simply air seeking an equilibrium, and hence the violent commotion is soon succeeded by a serene stillness. When chemical agents of opposite qualities are brought together, as for instance an acid and an alkali, a quick movement of the particles comprising each is produced, known as *effervescence;* but, as soon

Digitized by Google

as a chemical union is established, this movement ceases and a state of rest ensues. Two clouds sometimes meet in the heavens charged with opposite electricities. The result is a vivid lightning flash, followed by an audible concussion of the atmosphere; but the equilibrium is almost immediately regained, and the tearful sky is again bright with the smile of peace.

In all these illustrations one fact is apparent, which is, that matter, however greatly it may be disturbed or thrown out of balance by different elemental agents, always tends toward a state of equilibrium and consequent rest, — so proving that the primary power does not belong to it as an inherent property, but must have a superior and independent existence. We cannot fail to see the bearing which this fact has on the origin of the human species; for if the highest power in the universe is not in any just sense identical with matter, but has an existence which is superior to and independent of it, then man, as an offspring of the highest power, is not simply a product of material Nature, but derives his being from a source beyond Nature — the region of intelligence and will.

The inference here arrived at is confirmed by a reference to man's mental organization. We find in him not only a bodily structure which is capable of being decomposed, but also that which escapes all power of analysis—a thinking principle; and this principle in which consciousness resides, is felt to be the true personality as distinguished from the outward investment. There is no difficulty in deciding that the materials composing man's bodily organism, have been supplied by that grand physical system which we call Nature. In fact the body is, as it has been aptly termed, an epitome of the universe, containing within itself the very materials which are known to be incorporated in the elemental world. But the body has no power in itself to say "I" — that is, it has not, in any of its parts, or by virtue of any of the elements composing it, the attribute of conscious intelligence. How, then, shall we account for the existence of such an attribute in man? Can it be said that this, also, has its origin in physical Nature?

Digitized by Google

It is one of the accepted facts of science that matter, as it exists in the visible world, is made up of a certain number of simple elements, such as oxygen, nitrogen, sulphur, carbon, etc. These elements are called simple, because they are supposed to be incapable of being decomposed, not being reducible through chemical analysis to any antecedent form. Now if man were simply the product of external matter, and this were the sole cause at work in his development, we should find in him, in a state of combination, the simple elements of which matter is composed, *and nothing more.* There would be oxygen, iron, carbon, and the various other elementary substances; but these would be all. Even if we suppose it to be endowed with creative force, matter could do no more than produce a being which should exactly represent itself — a being made up of its own constitutional elements and manifesting its own essential attributes. But what is the real fact with regard to man? Does he contain only the elements, and manifest only the attributes, that belong to material forms? It must be conceded that he is distinguished by other and higher characteristics. There are, for instance, the emotions which rise within him as signs of mental sensibility — emotions of joy, grief, sympathy, love. Can it be presumed that such emotions are inherent in what are known as the elementary or component parts of matter? Is it not plain, on the contrary, that they belong to a sphere of being which is entirely above and beyond that occupied by the primitive elements? Take again the attribute of intelligence as manifested in the form of human reason. Does this attribute belong to any of the elements of which matter is compounded? Can it be said that oxygen or carbon is intelligent? Can we attribute the gift of reason to iron, phosphorus, or sulphur? If not, then we must admit that there is something in man which is not in the elements that enter into the composition of material bodies — a class of powers superior to any with which they are endowed.

This fact seems to settle definitely the question of origin. Man is not a product thrown out from the external universe

Digitized by Google

hrough the process of evolution, for the reason that he possesses certain mental powers which are not inherent in the elements of which the universe is composed, and because it is simply a truism to say that no elementary substances, whatever may be their form or combination, could impart to man principles or properties which they themselves do not possess. It is evident that the source of human existence must be equal to the full measure of that existence, comprehending in its own nature all that can ever be developed in man. As the fountain is necessarily above the stream, so the original power from which have been derived the mental characteristics pertaining to our humanity, must be above the level of man's best capabilities. Hence the conclusion is that man, considered with reference to his mental organization, is the offspring of a Being who possesses, in a supreme degree, the properties and attributes of mind, and who, from his own fullness and sufficiency, is able to impart them.

II. *Man's Destiny.*

The answer here given to the question, Whence came man? prepares the way for a reply to the corresponding inquiry, Whither is he destined? This inquiry has an important bearing on man's personal immortality, which entitles it to careful consideration. The solution offered by all materialistic philosophers is expressed in the formula, "The dust shall return to the earth as it was." Epictetus, replying to the question, Where shall we go at death? says: "To nothing terrible, but to the place from which you came, to your friends and kinsmen, to the elements: what there was in you of fire goes to fire; of earth to earth; of air to air: of water to water." This explanation is obviously true so far as it regards man's material investment — the body. Because this has been derived from Nature, and is composed of the elementary materials which are there furnished, it must in the end go back to Nature, restoring to that great repository what was originally taken from it. But what shall we say of the thinking principle — the conscious intelligence — that which, according to our previous reasonings, constitutes man's true personality?

Digitized by Google

Adopting the same rule of argument, we must say that here, too, origin is an indication of destiny. As the body represents and reflects the visible world with its changes and its decay, so the mind represents and reflects the invisible Power which is superior to that world. Having been derived from a divine source — having come forth from that all-pervading Soul which we term God, this divine portion of our being — the essential self — must have a destiny corresponding in character with its original prototype, standing forth as the immortal representative of Him who dwells above decay, and in whom the essence of all life is centered.

To make this prophecy of the future life still more clear and positive, let us consider that the human mind is the end — the permanent finality — which was originally held in view by the creative Power. The processes through which the Divine Action is manifested in the natural world, are not an aimless round. They have a meaning which is shown in the end attained by them. We can conceive of a time in the far past when there was only chaos, and probably a time will come in the distant future when the present universe, in completing its grand cycle, will return to the chaotic state from which it was primarily evolved; but it would be inconsistent with the evidences of design which are everywhere displayed, to suppose that, in the organization of the vast system of things, no real advance, no ultimate result, was contemplated, beyond the combination and segregation of its elemental parts. There would be in such an hypothesis no conceivable reason for the formation of the universe, it being impossible to understand why order should be brought forth from chaos only that it may be resolved into chaos again, or why the present constitution of things should have been established, if there was nothing contemplated here, as a result, more than had already existed before the process of creation began.

There must be, then, in the organization of Nature an advance contemplated beyond the original condition; there must be an ultimate aimed at which was not in existence when the universe was brought forth, but which shall remain in exis-

Digitized by Google

tence when the universe ceases to be; there must be, in short, something to represent the end of creation which shall stand forth as a permanent result, independent of all physical changes. Planets, satellites, suns and constellations are but the instrumentalities or mediums employed in reaching this end. These may be destroyed when they have accomplished their purpose, as the shell of the egg crumbles after the bird has emerged from it; but there must be, standing beyond them all, some permanent finality, since otherwise existence would be proved at last to be an aimless circle, without design and without use.

It remains for us now to determine what the final result is, to which the varied processes of creation point. Is this a difficult work? Do we not have the perception and the consciousness of that result in ourselves? Are we not led by all the ascending gradations of being, and by all those vital processes which show the workings of a divine Force, up to one grand ultimate — the individualization of mind?—the crowning glory of a soul which, in its intelligence and love, reflects the glory of its Author? We cannot say that the mineral represents the end of creation, because this is the lowest of organized forms. We cannot say that the vegetable is the end, because it furnishes nutriment for organizations which are still higher in the scale. We cannot say that the animal is the end, because, however wonderful its structure may be, it subserves higher uses than those which minister to its own enjoyment. Neither can we say that the physical structure of man is the highest attainment in the work of creation, since this is only an instrumentality which is moved and ruled by a power enthroned within it. But here we come to a recognition of the ultimate fact. The power within the body, the God-like mind which crowns it with beauty and with strength, is the real end that is aimed at in the system of things, and all lower forms are only so many steps leading in the direction of this result.

The deduction to be drawn from these premises cannot be doubtful. If God in the work of creation has an end in view

Digitized by Google

which shall prove to be a permanent gain, and if that end is, as we must believe, the individualizing of intelligence in man, then it follows that the human mind must forever preserve the individuality with which it is endowed, since in this way only could it be shown that the labor of God had not been in vain, and that the end contemplated in the workings of the Divine Will had been actually reached. This idea will not seem to be too good to be true, when we remember that mind is the child and representative of God; that it is the last and highest creation to which everything else is subservient and for which everything else exists. Here we find an object of sufficient value to call forth the action of the Supreme Will; and the wisdom of all that God has undertaken will be shown in the fact that this permanent result has been outworked — that mind has been left, as an indestructible entity, when the existing universe has completed its round of growth and decay.

An idea prominent in the Hindoo religion is, that human souls, after having passed through various forms and cycles of being, will be ultimately absorbed in the Universal Soul, thus losing their personal identity and becoming one with God. Individual existence, in the Buddistic theory, is supposed to be the source of evil; and hence, according to this theory, salvation from sin can only be effected when the soul is swallowed up in God, as the waters of a stream are lost in the sea. Such a destiny, of course, really amounts to annihilation; for it matters little, so long as individuality is destroyed, whether it is lost in Deity or sunk in absolute nothingness. There is, however, no consistency in supposing that that will be destroyed which God, through his creative processes, has made the *end* of being. The physical body, like the scaffolding around a building in process of erection, may be taken away, subserving as it does a subordinate and temporary use; but the individualized intelligence in man cannot be absorbed in the Soul from which it came, since, if it were, there would be nothing gained in the act of creation, and the object for which all divine laws and methods were instituted, would be unat-

Digitized by Google

tained. God in such a case would be still alone, as He was before the worlds were made; nothing would be finally gained by the effort which He has put forth to create; and creation itself would prove to be an utter failure — no more, in fact, than the sport of a child that blows bubbles into the air to see them burst.

The continuance of personal identity hereafter is secured, guaranteed, we may say, by the fact that existence under the divine rule is something more than an aimless round. Because mind has been developed as the grand finality to which all forces and processes are made subservient, and because that finality can never be anything less than it is, without rendering null and void the entire scheme of creation, the intelligence in man must continue through all ages to maintain an individualized existence.

Such is destiny as indicated by the Spiritual Source from which we came. As it is written, "The spirit shall return unto God who gave it;" but it shall return, not to be swallowed up in his boundless life, but to bring to Him as an offering its best powers and gifts — the riches which it has gathered in its earthly experience, — as the ambassador of some regal court might go forth into foreign lands, and come back ladened with the wealth which he had gathered in his journey. If here we learn to be obedient to the divine law, we shall bring the fruits of that obedience into the heavenly courts, and lay them at our Father's feet; if we have learned to love, cultivating the affections and sympathies which grow out of our social relations, we shall place the hallowed flame on that celestial altar whose lights are never extinguished; and if our souls have been purified with the baptism of fire,—if by the trials we have endured, and the crosses we have borne, the pure gold within us has been separated from its earthly dross, we shall be accepted by the Eternal One as jewels worthy to be worn on his bosom.

Digitized by Google

ARTICLE XI.

Classical Studies.

The benefits to be derived from study in school may be grouped under three heads: knowledge obtained, mental power developed, and habits acquired. Their relative importance will be variously estimated by different people. To some the first is the leading, indeed almost the only object of study. To know, is, with them, the end sought for.

Others regard the culture and strengthening of our intellectual gifts as the prime object to be attained. They hold that the matter of study is of far less importance than the manner in which it proceeds. To quicken and intensify our perceptive faculties; to train our reasoning powers; to stimulate our imaginations, and bring them into healthy harmonious working order; to discipline and render efficient our memories; to make subtle, keen and accurate our judgments; to cultivate taste, — in short, to bring out the man; these things some consider much more important than the treasures of knowledge which may be gathered.

The formation of beneficial mental habits is important; most important, some people hold. Habits of industry, of patient application, of thoroughly mastering whatever we undertake, of accuracy, of readiness, and the like, are sometimes considered to be the best results which a course of study produces. The bearing of classical study on these various points we shall now consider. We use the word "classical" in its ordinary sense, to designate the Latin and Greek classics as studied in schools.

I. As to knowledge: Classical study brings us knowledge in a variety of forms. First we may mention a knowledge of the languages themselves, their genius and their structure. The same peculiar intellectual eminence which made the Greeks the leaders of mankind in architecture and sculpture, gave to their language a strength and finish unparalled in all the world. Every person acquainted with it has noted the

Digitized by Google

smoothness and power of its synthetic structure; its flexibility, and its fitness for making nice distinctions of thought and feeling by means of its masterly syntax, and its highly inflected forms.

Farrar in speaking of it says: "It is one of the most delicate and perfect instruments for the expression of thought that was ever elaborated by the mind of man." Curtius says of it: "More than any of its sister languages the Greek language must be regarded as a work of art, on account of its sense for symmetry and perfection of sounds, for clearness of form, for law and organism. Its syntax has never been equalled by that of any other language in the world." Henshaw speaks of the Greek as "the noblest tongue in which thought was ever uttered;" and even Macauley, while lavishing praises on our own language, acknowledges its inferiority to the tongue of Greece. But we need not tarry here. The strength and subtlety of the classical languages, in particular the Greek, are generally admitted by all who are acquainted with them. A knowledge of them is of great interest to every person. By comparison, then, we can understand our own language better. By standing aside, as it were, and viewing thought through another very different medium, we are led to comprehend, much more clearly, the real character of the English tongue.

Furthermore, we obtain, by carefully reading a few representative works, a knowledge of the splendid literature of those days. Space forbids any enumeration of the great works to which classical scholars have access. Merely to note that the epics of Homer, the tragedies of Sophocles, the dialogues of Plato, and Demosthenes' orations, have never since been equalled, sufficiently indicates our thought. From the peculiar civilization developed in Hellas and Latium, with languages so efficient for expressing the genius of their minds, no other than a most valuable literature could have been expected. Modern scholars can ill afford to neglect the literary masterpieces of the ancient world. There were indeed giants in those days.

Digitized by Google

Again, in the pursuit of classical studies we obtain some knowledge of the history of these people; of their general character; of their customs and habits, both public and private; of their governmental institutions, and of their views on many great questions of permanent interest to the human race. While this knowledge is not wide, it is compensatingly intense and thorough. We believe in the old maxim, "Nothing is so prolific as a little, well known." What man, who has read in Livy his account of Hannibal's campaigns; or, in Xenophon, the character of Socrates and of Cyrus, cannot vividly recall not only the facts presented, but even the impressions received? Whatever is obtained through the process of careful translation, becomes fixed in the mind; and a few prominent events in the past furnish clustering points about which the minor details of ancient history may readily be gathered. The siege of a walled town, with javelins, testudo, and battering-ram, not merely furnishes the student knowledge of the customs and implements of the past, but, being of necessity earnestly dwelt upon, it suggests, in the hands of a skilful teacher, the measure of civilization to which those people had attained; and opens the whole subject of how far, and why, their moral and governmental status differed from ours, whose cities are not walled, but are open to all the world.

A knowledge of the mythology of the past is of much interest. For, however grotesque and repulsive some of their conceptions were, others, like that of Minerva, were noble and pure. To observe how, in the absence of Christian revelation, their minds sought after the Divine, and pictured forth their polytheistic creations, is instructive. How, through their anthropomorphic idealism, they gave form to abstractions, and produced a Mars, a Neptune, a Venus, a Pluto and a host of others; while they yet realized the need of one Supreme Deity sufficiently to make Jupiter "the father of gods and the king of men,"—these things we cannot afford to overlook, whether viewed as contributions to the history of civilization, and especially to comparative theology, or as aiding us to solve some of the difficult problems of life.

Digitized by Google

Two objections are offered to the study of the classics for the sake of knowledge. And they are mostly made, like objections from other points of view, by people who know little or nothing of the subject. Nearly every man who exhorts his son or his young friend not to spend time with the "dead languages," is himself ignorant of the classics; and he has, therefore, no right to judge or advise concerning them. The students who declaim against classical study are either scientific students, entirely unacquainted with the subject, or those who have taken some brief, hasty work under inferior instruction.

They tell us that these classical matters are old; that this knowledge is of no importance nowadays, except, perhaps, in a professional way, to the physician, the lawyer and the clergyman; or as the means of gratifying an idle curiosity.

We reply that the history of the past is, in some respects, more interesting and valuable than the records of the present. For, after the representations of contemporary passion and prejudice have faded, when time and criticism present the truth of history, the real principles of national prosperity and greatness may be discovered. The one regret is that our records of the past are not more complete. Besides the uses of mythology already mentioned, some knowledge of it becomes necessary that we may understand the frequent references in our own literature. So with a hundred details of ancient custom. They are quoted and referred to so freely that those familiar with these things often lose sight of the fact that to many people they are unintelligible. So with reference to classical literature. There are few, if any, English authors of note who do not, by illustration or quotation, make frequent reference to the writings of the past. Nor is this strange. The stream will keep some flavor of its fountain, though flowing far away. Who would think of mastering Milton, without first studying the classics? We cannot even read Washington's farewell address without noticing that he speaks of "the unity of government which constitutes us one people," as "the palladium of our political safety and prosperity." How forci

Digitized by Google

ble this becomes when we recall what the oracles had said of the power of this image over the fortunes of Troy! Otherwise, how meaningless!

Again, a large percentage of our words are of classical origin, coming either directly, through the Norman French of the conquest, or by transfer and adoption. The force of these words, especially of the numerous compounds, can be much better apprehended by one having a knowledge of the originals. Not only does the lawyer find that nearly all of his legal terms are Latin, or its offspring, old French; the physician, that his art, looking back to Esculapius, is thoroughly classical in nomenclature; and the clergyman, that he should study the originals of the Scriptures and the early fathers; but the scientist soon discovers that the established terms in every department of his labor are classical, and all new ones proposed are from the same source. "Astronomy" is a measurement of the stars; "biology" is a treatise on life; the "philosopher" is the lover of wisdom; to "telegraph" is to write from a distance; a "telegram" is the message itself; to "telephone" is to make a far-away sound; and the term "telepheme" has been proposed for the purpose of designating the oral message sent. It will be interesting to note whether or not this word will be accepted by the public, and incorporated in the next revision of our dictionaries. The very term "science," is Latin. Nor is the value of this knowledge confined to the few. Our very conversation is full of it. What we so constantly use in business and in all the relations of life: what is continually in all our mouths, we ought to understand, at least so far as to be able to use it rightly. Certainly no one can claim to be a finished scholar who has neglected to acquaint himself with those languages which furnish thirty-five per cent. of all our words.

We said that another objection is urged. It is this, that whatever may be valuable in the classics, either from references or from a knowledge of the languages themselves, can be obtained in dictionaries of antiquities, in translations, and in works on English derivation. This seems, at first sight, to

Digitized by Google

have considerable force. Without doubt classical dictionaries are convenient, and works on etymology are valuable. We can stop in our reading and consult books of reference in order to comprehend the allusions of our author. We can read Bryant's Homer, Connington's Virgil, and Rawlinson's Herodotus; and we may gather some knowledge of Roman customs from such books as Bulwer's "Last Days of Pompeii. We would not belittle the value of these aids. Yet if the reference books were always conveniently at hand, as they are not, to consult them takes time and interrupts reading. Nor is the allusion, thus explained, so clear or so forcible as when at once recalled and comprehended. Again, these translations are little read by those who are entirely unacquainted with the originals. And naturally so; for to such persons these works seem foreign and strangely unfamiliar. Even if they do read and study them, they cannot get the fine flavor, the peculiar charm of the originals. Much that is most excellent in Greek cannot be translated into English. While perusing the originals of Plato and Homer, we can feel the force and catch the spirit of much that our language cannot express. The English is analytic, not synthetic; and even more than other modern languages it has lost the inflectional forms. Not only does the highly inflected structure of the Greek — its more than five hundred forms of the verb, for instance, — and the numerous particles with which it abounds, enable it accurately to state and delicately to shade thought; but everywhere there are traces of that peculiar genius, poetic, philosophical, artistic and creative, which we cannot embody in our words. Even the translations are more valuable to those who are familiar with the originals; and who, though they may not have studied the same works, can yet take them up with a spirit not cold and distant, but sympathetic and appreciative, and with much of that zest with which we welcome old friends. No one will deny that Daniel Webster appreciated the true spirit of oratory. One of the deepest regrets of his life was that he had not studied Greek sufficiently to be able readily to read Demosthenes in the original.

Digitized by Google

As regards the works on derivation, they are also doubly valuable to the classical scholar. For not only can they be more keenly appreciated and more thoroughly undestood by one who has employed the original words in dealing with a variety of thought; but, the vital power of a word having been once clearly comprehended, the force of its derivatives can be readily perceived. We of course do not mean to say that the classical scholar has nothing more to do in learning the significance of words; but his comprehension is quicker, his grasp of the thought broader, his insight more keen, and his recollection aided to an important degree.

If a person desires to become acquainted with the elements of our own language; and especially if he wishes to be a scholar, in any broad and satisfactory sense, he will accomplish his object better, and actually save time by thoroughly studying the classics first. The plea of so many young people, that they have no time to spend in studying them, simply shows that they do not comprehend the subject, do not appreciate the benefits to be derived. Nature, in adjusting the products of our labor to our needs, has been so kind to humanity that time is granted to all men for enriching their minds.

II. As to mental training and culture: Exertion brings strength. Physically, intellectually and morally, the same law holds good. He who walks much, acquires power for walking. The logician, by practice, increases his power of analyzing thought. Good habits strengthen themselves.

Whether classical study tends largely toward mental culture or not, depends to a great degree on how it is pursued. Of course some intellectual strength must be developed, however the subject may be handled; but we believe that, properly taught, it becomes one of the most efficient means for mental culture which the whole range of college work furnishes. Learning and handling the various inflectional forms, furnishes excellent training for the perceptive faculties and the memory. Guess-work will not suffice. The forms must be clearly noted and accurately recalled before the work can proceed.

Digitized by Google

We then ascertain the significance of whatever words in the sentence may be new to us, and recall the meaning of the familiar ones. A process of reasoning and judging at once begins. We note the primitive meaning or root-force, and run over the various derived meanings, determining which ones may be applicable in the present case. We then note the force of the forms, case, tense, mood, etc., and the drift of the context; till, gradually, there arises in the mind an imaginative picture of what the author may mean. Modifying and expanding it as we proceed, reason, imagination, judgment and taste unitedly act, till we decide what thought the author was expressing. The idea, then, fully grasped, is metamorphosed from the idioms of the original into our English modes of expression; and a valuable literary drill is received in dressing the thought in our own vernacular.

This is no fanciful picture of what a student in reading classical authors may possibly do. It is a simple statement of what every classical student who does his work well, must do. The value of the discipline received in these mental operations is greatly heightened from the fact that they proceed together. By such complicated mental processes the intellectual powers are trained to work in harmonious, successful unison; and strength is developed in a direction identical with that of our every-day work in life. For the student who is "continually arbitrating between conflicting probabilities;" who, in determining the true meaning of a difficult sentence is rapidly proposing and solving complicated problems, with enough lingering doubt attending his conclusions to hinder "the harmful assumption of perfectness,"—such a one is training himself to think as the practical affairs of life require him to think. Other branches of study of course develop strength; but no other one, we believe, calls into vigorous action so many faculties at the same time, as does classical study.

We should not be content to follow some of the methods of teaching the classics which have been received as an inheritance from a former age. Instead of spending all of his best

Digitized by Google

strength in the accurate memorizing of irregular and rare forms, the classical instructor now proceeds to the inviting fields of modern achievement.

The reason why, is not now withheld when new subjects are presented. We no longer deal with rules merely, but with laws and general principles. Philology now stands among the foremost of our modern sciences. Proceeding from observation and the patient classification of facts, it has made its own those potent elements of scientific culture, generalization, and mental grasp, in discovering new laws. Furthermore, from intense and protracted consideration of words, the vehicle of thought, and of mental processes in combining them, we come into close and sympathetic contact with the human mind. If it be true that nothing tends so much to awaken and increase mental activity, as to behold it in others, surely to watch intently the processes of thought of a highly cultivated people,—of the master minds of such a people,—"swayed by the impulse of creative energy," must arouse the student, and waken to activity whatever power may be slumbering within him. If it be true that "on earth there's nothing great but man; in man there's nothing great but mind," in the study of language, the crystallization of thought and feeling, we find our nearest approach to the genius of humanity.

But cannot the study of the modern languages accomplish all this, and attain a practical end besides? We think not. Only a small percentage of the students who study them in school, ever make any especially practical use of them afterwards. The modern languages, although valuable and interesting in themselves, cannot, from their character as modern languages, be made to supply what is lost in neglecting classical study. The professed object of studying German is to learn to read and speak it; by the method of study, too, which will accomplish this in the shortest possible time. So with French; all or nearly all our French and German grammars being arranged with this in view. As instruments of mental culture these languages occupy but a small part of the field. And even if we were to take them up scientifically, the clas-

Digitized by Google

sics, as a base of operations, must be mastered before we can accomplish anything of value. We believe that the great benefit, the "practical" benefit of school-work is found in well-disciplined mental faculties trained to work strongly and accurately together.

III. As to habits: To attain habits of attention, of thoroughness, of patiently mastering both details and principles, of determined application, is unquestionably valuable. These the successful classical student must form.

When, in addition to this, from weighing the various probabilities as to the signification of the different words and the force of the forms in a sentence, the habit is acquired of grasping comprehensively the minutiæ, and of judging keenly and quickly regarding the author's thought, we have gained a mental habit not to be lightly estimated.

That this is not the habit of always reaching absolute conclusions, but often only probable judgments; and even the fact that different views of the meaning of the same sentence may sometimes be plausibly defended, only proves the more strongly the fitness of these pursuits to train us for the active duties of life, where much of our data is assumed, and many of our conclusions are necessarily uncertain. The present age, so full of hasty high-pressure elements, seems especially to need men disciplined in habits of patience and thoroughness. As civilization advances, so much the more is thorough training needed. Said President White, when inaugurated at Galesburg:

"The arrangement of words in a regular Latin period is as well calculated to arrest and hold the attention, as though it had been planned for that very purpose. The attention being arrested by placing the subject at the beginning of the period, and in the principal sentence, and the subordinate sentences and clauses being arranged in the order of their relative importance, the order of words is thus made to conform to the order of thought, while the climax is reached in the verb, which, placed at the end of the period, makes known at once and in the most emphatic manner, the judgment and views of the writer."

Digitized by Google

Marsh in his lectures has used this strong language:

"I do but echo the universal opinion of all persons competent to pronounce on the subject, in expressing my own conviction that the language and literature of ancient Greece constitutes the most efficient instrument of mental training ever enjoyed by man; and that a familiarity with that wonderful speech, its poetry, its philosophy, its eloquence, and the history which it embalms is incomparably the most valuable of intellectual possessions."

Goodwin says: "The Greek syntax, as it was developed and refined by the Athenians, is a most important chapter in the history of thought." And according to Max Müller: "The Greeks alone of all nations opened almost every mine of thought that has since been worked by mankind; and they invented and perfected almost every style of poetry and prose which has since been cultivated by the greatest minds of our race. Like their own goddess Athene, the people of Athens seemed to spring full-armed into the arena of history; and we look in vain to Egypt, Syria, or India for more than a few of the seeds which burst into such marvellous growth on the soil of Attica."

Farrar is thus emphatic concerning the study of Greek:

"It has been found to be, in various nations and ages during many hundred years, one of the very best instruments for the exercise and training of the mind. It may have been studied irrationally, pedantically and too excluisvely; but, though it is desirable that much should be superadded, yet with Latin it will probably ever continue to be — what the great German poet Goethe breathed a wish that it always should be — the basis of all higher culture."

Digitized by Google

ARTICLE XIII.

Ireland.

FEW of the many recent writers on the Irish question have been so generally and so severely criticised as the very conservative Lord Sherbrooke. But one of his statements will certainly pass unchallenged by all who attempt to master the many and varied views and theories which the present agitation has evolved. In a paper on "Legislation for Ireland," he says: "The man must be indeed actuated by an adventurous spirit who presumes, in the absence of full information, to offer crude and half-thought-out suggestions on such a subject."[1] Though a much less than "full" information may fit one to understand the subject, whereupon he may not presume to submit practical "suggestions," it still remains true that much and varied reading is needed before one can hope to know the merits of the problem. Yet we know of no practical subject in respect to which it is so imperative that both, or rather all, sides be patiently heard. The literature of the Irish question is beyond any precedent passionate even to violence. Nearly every witness clothes his facts in a garb so rhetorical as to shake the confidence of the judicial hearer or reader. When so accomplished a writer as the Duke of Argyll, whose delicate literary instincts must revolt at an uncanonical, certainly a coarse, word, is tempted to make use of "bamboozling," the Irish issue being his theme, we need not be surprised if the same irritant moves the orators of the Land League to phrases more in keeping with a street-brawl than with the dignity of formal deliberation. A cumulation of adjectives specially meant for strength is usually specially weak. Educated men do not rave when weighty and convincing facts are at their command. What is called the Irish cause is literally cursed by its advocates. By their invective its champions often create more distrust than they remove. The same fault in the conservatives, the champions of the

[1] The *Nineteenth Century* for November, 1880.

Digitized by Google

landlords, is indeed less, but only less. The urgent need of both parties is moderation in speech.

It has become the duty of American citizens to know the claims of the Irish question — to know them, even though they may not be able to suggest remedies. That question has become a most arrogant interloper in our politics. It is indeed well and even needful that our people have accurate information in regard to the status of every suffering or oppressed people, that they may apply to their relief the efficient influence of public opinion. The over-taxed German farmer, the neglected and starving Irish tenant, and the common Irish laborer whom the Irish tenant employs, have each and all an imperative claim upon the sympathy of their more fortunate brethren in this more favored land. The American people would not be worthy of the great exemptions and positive privileges they so largely enjoy were they indifferent to the distresses of their fellow-men in other, and no matter how far distant, lands. Were the ample discussion of, and the profound interest in, the condition of the Irish tenants, of this sympathetic character, we should not only deem it a duty to enter heartily into the agitation, but we should take pride therein as furnishing the conclusive proof that our own prosperity has not hardened our hearts to the pitiful pleas that come to us from the oppressed peoples of other realms.

But every intelligent reader of this must agree with us that full nine tenths of what is called American sympathy for the Irish, is nothing of the kind. Naturalization has filled our cities with Irish citizens, any one of whom is as powerful at the ballot-box as President Arthur or Senator Edmunds. These citizens are "solid" in one direction. They hold the balance of political power in most of our large cities and even towns. Candidates for such offices as are in the gift of the people are in mortal fear of this huge balance which the impassioned demagogue can by a word turn to their discomfiture. And so it comes about that mayors and governors preside at public meetings, and with forced complaisance listen to invective and ribaldry which they secretly loathe as a humiliation

Digitized by Google

and a compromise of their self-respect. In truth, the Irish question in our politics has become a tyranny as insolent and degrading as that which is so often, and we doubt not with frequent justice, charged upon landlordism itself. The greater part of the American interest in the Irish question is the most brazen political demagogism. And for this reason, as well as for the very different one that Ireland has a real grievance which merits our moral interference, the duty to look into the real merits of the subject has become one of our weighty and immediate responsibilities. Men of character, representative of American principles, and pledged to needful legislation and wise administration, are, for the reason that they will not tarnish their self-respect by pandering to an alien or at least a foreign domination, set aside for adventurers and demagogues who make it their study to stand well with the voting "balance." The end is imperative, and it must ere long assert itself in our politics, that it be made quite as serious a risk to seek an illegitimate support, as to refuse to be debased by it. A proper understanding of the Irish question, and of its just relations to the American people, cannot fail to prove counteractive in this vitally important regard.

We have stated that the Irish question has a great variety of phases. In the limits proper to a single article we cannot, even in general terms, discuss the entire subject. Our purpose is to make a contribution to the current controversy. It has appeared to us that a rapid review of the historic features of the agitation may be of immediate service. To lead up to a theme is in no small degree its explanation. This we will briefly attempt adding incidentally such reflections upon other phases as may comport with our general plan.

A bald summary of the geographical features of Ireland will be an important help in this task. The diminutive appearance which the island presents on the school-maps naturally gives rise to the impression that its actual area is very small. We have learned by testing that very many who have been at no pains to correct their school-day estimates, have a notion that in territorial extent Ireland is about equal to two or three

Digitized by Google

New England counties! Of course, the slightest reflection based upon the known facts of the relief given in seasons of distress, and of the crowds of immigrants annually coming to this country, must have made it clear that such a comparison is grotesquely inadequate. Yet we apprehend that those of our readers who have been at no pains to get accurate information, will be surprised to learn that the area of Ireland (near 21,000,000 square acres) is about equal to that of New England with the large exclusion of Maine, or about two-thirds that of the State of New York. A rail-road passage from the extreme North-East to the extreme South-West (about 300 miles) would be little short of the passage from Albany to Buffalo. Almost its narrowest width, from Dublin to Galway Bay (120 miles), is a little more than the distance between Boston and Portland. Ireland, territorially equal to fifteen Hollands, to nearly three Belgiums, is therefore of sufficiently large proportions to account for the prominence it holds in European history, and also to account for, though by no means to justify, the influence it has, directly and indirectly, upon American politics and legislation,—practically controlling the municipal elections and determining the municipal policy of nearly all our large cities, while its "balance" of power in our National legislature is pronounced and feared. In dimensions and in influence it is anything but the little speck which it appears upon the atlas of our school-day memories.

It is customary to classify the different qualities of the soil under the heads of arable, meadow and waste. Of Ireland's twenty-one millions of acres, about six millions are arable, and under skilful husbandry would yield rich harvests. About as much more is meadow. The remainder, bog in the interior, and mountain along the coasts, is at present waste, about half of it reclaimable. It thus averages well as an agricultural country,—far better than either Scotland or Wales; and under reasonably good government would enable a thrifty and economical population of six millions to live in comfort. Since the years of famine in 1848–9—previous to which the popu-

Digitized by Google

lation had reached eight millions — deaths and emigrations have reduced the number to about six millions.

The sad plight of Ireland which has for so long a period moved the sympathy of more favored lands, which has been the puzzle of the ethnologist, which has lured statesmen to the task of solution uniformly to disappoint their expectations, which has been the occasion of chronic agitation, which has fed the fires of hatred towards the English government as oppressive, and which has been, and yet continues to be, the despair of philanthropists,— is this: A very large proportion of the Irish domain is held by a comparatively few proprietors, most of whom are absentees,— dwelling in England or on the Continent,— the lands being occupied by tenants, who pay, or are required to pay, fixed sums in the form of annual rents. The parties directly dealing with the tenants are seldom the legal proprietors, but their agents or stewards, who attend to the details of letting the farms, collecting the dues, and forwarding the same to the owners at London, Paris, Rome, or whatever city or retreat may be their chosen home. The tenants insist that they cannot live in anything like comfort on what is left of the products of their toil after the claims of the landlords are met. It is certain that with a proportion of exceptions, they are in an estate of extreme poverty, no large proportion of them literally suffering the pangs of hunger, and in seasons of famine,— when the potato crop, which is the staple (though not near so exclusive of other productions as common report alleges) fails,— forced to subsist on charity or starve. Testimonies seriously differ as to the extent and the intensity of suffering in the island, but all agree to the effect, that the distress among the farmers and the common laborers whom the farmers employ, is far beyond parallel in other European domains, — so exceptionally great and constant, that the active intervention of the government and of the benevolent in other lands, is frequently made necessary to prevent, not simply wide-spread suffering, but literal starvation.

It may be, it certainly is, difficult to distribute the blame of this pitiable estate. But the reality not simply of mistake

Digitized by Google

in policy, but of wrong,— the quality and degree of wrong which make it exceptional, and which demand the intervention of legislation, and call for the profound censure of the world's opinion — cannot be a matter of dispute. The startling, thrilling, heart-rending facts are these: millions of human beings are in destitution, and in annual fear of starvation unless relieved by charity, and this in the land of their birth, and the land so favored by climate and natural fertility as to promise, not simply sustenance, but wide-spread comfort. Whether the culpable cause be, as many allege, in the blood of an indolent, quarrelsome, thriftless, ignorant, and bigoted race, under whose husbandry Eden itself would speedily become a desert; or, as others allege, in the unjust and heartless exactions and tyrannies of prodigal and distant landlords; or, as yet others aver, in "historic wrongs" whereby the natural owners of the soil were robbed, their rightful possession made over to courtiers and soldiers of fortune; or, as another party may claim, in the tyranny of a naturally foreign power that holds the land by conquest, and upholds its supremacy by brutal penal statues,— or whether the culpable cause be in a combination of these causes,— the fact of wrong as something over and above mistake or misfortune, is not even in controversy. To this extent all parties and factions are in perfect agreement.

We turn to the difficult questions: On whom rests the blame of the great wrong? How is the blame to be distributed among different parties? In what particulars are the landlords, the tenants, and those who act as their champions, and the statesmen in the legislature or in the cabinet, respectively at fault? Our brief answer or solution, as we have intimated, will be substantially historic.

There would, we doubt not, have been little temptation or disposition to single out the landlords for special, almost exclusive censure, had they come into the possession of the Irish lands through purchase, or as an inheritance from those who formally bought and paid for the property. The sense of rightful property where an owner has put money into his pos-

Digitized by Google

sessions, is so general and dominant, that an attempt to dispossess him by any method to which he is not a willing party, would shock the community as robbery in form. But the landlords, as a class, have not formally paid for their landed possessions, nor have they inherited from those who paid therefor. There are, indeed, instances in which the proprietors have invested in the Irish soil, in which to the soil they may have inherited they have added contiguous acres by purchase. But these are exceptional cases. As a class the landlords are in possession by inheritance, and this from parties who also held by inheritance. And the line of inheritance is traced back to generations who took possession by force. And the present generation of tenants nurse the exasperating belief that they are the victims of "historic wrong," that they are tenants upon a soil that would have been theirs had not their ancestors been robbed; that the landlords of the present day are the descendants of the robbers—of the courtiers and soldiers of fortune, whom British rulers enriched by confiscating in their favor a domain that was the rightful possession of Irishmen born upon the Irish soil.

In the many and conflicting opinions given forth in the profuse current literature of the Irish question, it is easy to note the general agreement on at least this point: The wrong of wrongs, the wrong that is the parent of all the griefs and irritations and oppressions, and of the sense of injury on the part of the Irish tenantry, is that of the so-called "historic wrong." The tenant has been led to feel that every shilling he parts with in the payment of rent is so much paid to the descendants of those who robbed his ancestors. And this ground of sullen discontent is aggravated further by the reflection that the landlord is usually an absentee; that he has no interest in the tenant beyond that of forcing from him, it may be, his last penny to expend upon luxuries and pleasures in Paris or Rome. The tenant sees the products of his toil forcibly wrenched from him, not to make markets and quicken industries at home, but to support titled vagabonds in other lands.

Digitized by Google

It is not a new or strange thing to find even a good cause compromised by an illegitimate defence. That the Irish peasant has a real grievance cannot be questioned by any one who fairly looks into the facts and the antecedents of his condition. But when he justifies his complaint and demands rectification on the score of historic injustice, he makes an appeal which no accepted principle for the correcting of present wrongs will sustain. In truth, that which the tenants make the head and front, and almost the substance, of their wrong, is, for the existing generation, no wrong whatever, at least not that kind of a wrong which can be made to justify a present discontent. It is hard to conceive of a more ambiguous statement than that of "historic injustice." And one attempting to correct that sort of injustice would be puzzled to determine at what date and upon what theatre to begin.

The most conspicuous, the most general fact of history is conquest. It is difficult to name a people who, if they have been conquered, were not themselves conquerors. European history opens with epochs of invasion — one race displacing another; this in turn displacing a third; the third, a fourth; and so on,— as upon the ocean one wave pursues the wave before it and is pursued by the one next behind it. Take France as an example. Celts from Eastern Europe drove out what are called aborigines — so called because their history is not known. The Romans drove out or subjugated the Celts, or Gauls as they were more specifically called. The Franks did the same for the Gaulish Romans. Again, to make England give the well known illustration, Romans conquered, and amalgamated with, the early Britons. When the Roman legions were withdrawn, the Saxons crossed the Channel and took possession. The Normans conquered the Saxons. Early Italian history is rife with these conflicts of races, the weaker being replaced by the stronger in a long series of invasions, and also, particularly in early Roman history, of civil wars. The conquest of the Aborigines in America, which makes the earliest annals of our own country, is fruitful of examples in illustration. And expropriation of the soil — the land

Digitized by Google

passing from conquered to conqueror — is the uniform characteristic of tribal invasion in every age. Historic injustice all this may be, but to name the party that is not as much sinning as sinned against would puzzle even a Niebhur. Each has been oppressor and oppressed in its turn. And is it proper now to correct the historic wrong? Which one? As well attempt to get the oak back into the acorn! Land League orators who inflame the ignorant tenants by reciting to them the annals of historic wrong, we do not think are fools. But if not fools, what are they?

Particularly is this form of appeal unwise as made to the Catholic people of Ireland. Strange to note, and there is much of the irony of fate in the history, the most intensely Catholic of peoples, the most faithful and unquestioning in their allegiance and devotion to the nominal head of the Romish Church, are in their hatred of English dominance, forced to remember that the hand which first riveted upon them the English fetters was that of a Catholic Pope! Yet again, the immediate occasion of the first English invasion was the vehement petition of an Irish king. In the year 1156, Pope Adrian IV., in the exercise of what at that period was deemed the rightful prerogative of the head of the Papacy, issued a bull conferring upon King Henry the Second of England the sovereignty of Ireland, commanding all Irish peoples to obey him as their rightful monarch,— the chief consideration of which favor was to be an annual contribution to the Church at Rome from every Irish family. A few years later, a king of Leinster having, in the chronic civil commotions of the island, been driven from his petty throne, besought Henry to send an English army and re-instate him, the reward to be the holding of his domain as a subject of the English monarch. Thirteen years after the Papal gift, acting on the supplication of the Irish prince, the first English force was sent to Ireland. The invasion was nominally successful, and Ireland bowed to its new master. This far more formal than substantial conquest, easily and rather gently made (a full century elapsed before the conquest was real), is the initial act of English suprem-

Digitized by Google

acy on the Irish Isle. This certainly may be classified under "historic wrongs." But the principal wrong-doer was a pope, and the chief tempter an Irish king.

Conquest, rebellion, re-conquest, and yet further rebellion, sometimes involving the extermination of the weaker party, sometimes its enslavement, sometimes the gradual mingling of both races or parties,— such is the general character of the early history of the nations of Europe; in truth, of all the early, even of the later histories. In those general regards the "historic wrong" to Ireland is not at all peculiar, its historic antecedents being identical with those of every other people.

But there are, however, two regards in which the English conquest of Ireland and the dominance of English rule, have made the Irish subjugation very peculiar and very unfortunate. What is now called the Irish question, including its chronic hate of English dominance, has its explanation and its cause in the peculiarity of the English supremacy. And as that peculiarity is the "key to the situation," a brief word of statement and elucidation may be well.

Sententiously put, *the English conquest of Ireland has never been thorough.* Had the invasion of the island by Henry II. been followed up by complete and permanent subjugation, there would, at this date, have been no Irish question any more than there is a Welsh question. When, in about 1280, Edward I. invaded Wales, he made the conquest complete. Insurrection was promptly and efficiently crushed, and English law and civilization being extended over the people, a century had not passed ere the Welsh had, along with the rights, the sentiments and the prejudices, of Englishmen. The results in Ireland would certainly have been substantially the same, had the English conquest been equally complete. England's wrong and reproach have been that from Henry II. in the latter part of the twelfth century to Victoria in the latter part of the nineteenth, England has not been constant, inflexible, and thorough in any policy. Its supremacy of seven centuries has been loose, intermittent, vacillating,— *in nothing thor-*

Digitized by Google

ough. History gives no example of a half-conquered and a half-governed yet quiet people. In what aims at such an estate, insurrection is chronic. Hesitancy to assert full supremacy is attributed to fear, or to a conscious inability to make good the pretence of supremacy. And no people will submit to an authority the strength of which they have been taught to distrust. Naturally, as long as the sense of being a distinct race, of being a conquered and harshly treated people, of being "under a hated yoke" remains distinct and vivid, the bitterness of discontent will be nursed, and the instinct of patriotism, not less than the maddening desire to be free, will seize upon every pretext for rising against the foreign oppressor.

England's most conservative, not less than its most liberal, statesmen have been, and yet are, ready to make the concession that its policy — rather its lack of any determined and constant policy — in dealing with Ireland, has been wrong, and the parent of many wrongs. Its make-believe rule has had just enough of reality to irritate the nominally conquered people, and it has never had reality enough to root out that which tempts to irritation. Had its purpose from the beginning been to keep Ireland in a constant yet futile ferment of revolt, it could not have invented a policy better adapted to that end, than the one it has actually pursued.

It is but just that the occasions which have led England's monarchs and statesmen into a course of foreign policy so exceptional, and, it would seem, so obviously subversive of their own interests, be considered.

We have intimated that two causes or occasions have been operative as explaining (though by no means justifying) the spasmodic and never thorough management of the Irish conquest. In very general terms these are: 1. *Schemes of conquest and of rule on the continent;* and 2. *Ecclesiastical and theological changes in England antagonistic to what had become the passionate and unreasoning Church-prejudice in Ireland.* In the historic evolution, other causes, such as the Wars of the Roses, Peasant insurrections, and the two Revolutions —

Digitized by Google

one overthrowing the monarchy, and the second driving out of the kingdom the constitutional ruler,— mixed more or less, and always largely, with the two general causes named, but these two substantially include the complete history. Under each head a brief word.

1. Far into the reign of the Tudors English ambition was hardly less operative on the continent, particularly in Normandy and France, than on the British Isles. As late as the middle of the sixteenth century, the grief that oppressed Queen Mary was, not that she had kindled the fagots at Smithfield, but that she had lost Calais. At first to hold Normandy; then — as the names of Cressy (1346), Poictiers (1356), and Agincourt (1416) will remind the most superficial reader of the annals — to conquer and annex France (a struggle so long and persistent that it has the name of the Hundred Years War); and, far later, the all absorbing passion and, as it was deemed, necessity, of checking the ambition of Louis XIV. — to which belong the fame of Marlborough and the battlefields of Blenheim (1706) and Malplaquet (1709),— not to include the all-absorbing continental anxiety during the recent period of the French Revolution and of the Napoleonic wars: such, in the baldest terms of generality, has been the direction of British energy ever since the Norman Conquest.

When Henry II. had simply begun the subjugation of Ireland, he suddenly left his new possession, including what are called the English settlements within the Pale (a narrow strip of Irish soil on the East and South) to relapse into the ancient Irish barbarism, called away by what he deemed a far more serious urgency in Normandy. Henry VIII. took Ireland in hand with characteristic energy, only to drop it as the ambition of the Emperor Charles the Fifth made a pressing exigency across the English Channel. The history of Ireland under Elizabeth is simply the history of rebellions put down to be succeeded by fresh insurrections. James the First deserves the credit of being the first to attempt something that should prove durable in the way of subjection through civilization; but at his period the Irish revolt had become chronic — Scotch

Digitized by Google

and English settlements in Ulster, making that province the most favored portion of the island, being his solitary trophy. Characterize as our beliefs or our prejudices may lead us to do, the work of Oliver Cromwell in Ireland, his bitterest foe will say, that of all British rulers, he was the only one that took the task in hand as if he really meant to finish it. Under his iron rule the island was brought to submission, and an efficient, systematic policy was begun. But he was an usurper (at least was so deemed) and on his death his policy was not only changed but largely reversed. Under William III. the business of re-conquest had become only partially successful, when continental dangers took Ireland out of his thought not less than out of his hand.

2. Very momentous were the disturbing and diverting influences that came of religious changes in England with which Ireland had no sympathy. Henry VIII. had little difficulty indeed in his attempt to transfer the Church-supremacy from the Pope to himself, at least within the Pale. But when it was seen that the Church Headship of the English monarch drew with it a change of creed and of ritual, all Ireland revolted in disgust not less than in belief; and its allegiance to the Papal power grew stronger just in proportion to the endeavors of the English government to force upon it a different faith and a different allegiance. The accession of Mary, largely reversing the action of her father, and still more that of her brother, Edward VI., was attended with a corresponding vacillation in Ireland. The accession of Elizabeth was a reversal in the direction of Protestantism, and in blunt defiance of the Pope, even to a greater extent than anything attempted by her father and brother, and once more Ireland was required to change its attitude, and violently in opposition to its belief and its prejudice. Elizabeth seems to have had the good sense to perceive that her scheme was simply impracticable, and so winked at a non-compliance with her requirements — in other words, was politic enough not to seem to see that her will was not heeded. But what her own judgment prudently withheld, the animosity of the Pope, whom

Digitized by Google

she had offended, supplied, and the *nominal* requirements of the English government were made the pretext for insurrection under the suggestion and blessing of the Papal head. And so again insurrection arose, only to be temporarily put down in blood. The civil wars came, and Charles I., in his conflict with the Long Parliament, was only too willing that the Catholic hostility to the Puritans of Cromwell and his party should create a diversion in his favor. It is to this day a question of hot dispute whether the hand of Charles was in the Irish St. Bartholomew of 1641,— in which forty thousand Protestants were surprised and massacred,— which atrocious savagery Cromwell professed to avenge nine years later. The ascendancy of the Commonwealth gave Cromwell his opportunity in the subjection of Ireland, and in a confiscation of the larger part of the territory — in which the Irish owners were dispossessed, and the Puritan soldiers were settled as proprietors — the bitterness of a religious revolution being the impelling passion. No sooner are the Cromwellians well in place, the land teeming under their skilful husbandry, than comes the Restoration, and these confiscations are largely (by no means altogether) reversed: in which change it is Catholicism triumphing over Protestantism, rather than Ireland getting rectification from England. James II. is driven from the throne, and William III. succeeds, and the exiled monarch, following so many precedents, appeals, not to Irish patriotism to resist the Dutch usurper, but to Irish Catholicism to oppose the Protestantism which the new monarch represented; in which appeal he has not alone the approval but the instigation of the Romish Church. Of course there is another insurrection, another temporary putting down of insurrection, another exchange of proprietors, in all of which political action is intensified and made bitter by the enthusiasm of theological and ecclesiastical fanaticism. These naked outlines of a vast history are enough to indicate the vital regards in which religious revolutions in England were a mighty factor in the lack of stability and thoroughness which have proved to Ireland a far greater woe than any real subjugation could possibly have

Digitized by Google

proved. England's poor yet plausible excuse was apparent: The crises on the continent, in the civil wars, and in the ecclesiastical convulsions, certainly could not be deferred to a more convenient opportunity; but in any case, it was thought, and with chronic fatality, that the Irish crisis *could* be deferred. In the constantly recurring exigency of revolt in Ireland, England seemed to say: "Ireland is out there in the ocean, away from near or dangerous contact with other nations; no very great harm can ensue even if its subjection is deferred, and its affairs for a while remain anarchical; but Spain, and France, and Holland, and Scotland, must be attended to *on the instant:* when accounts are settled with them, then it will be time to look after the turbulent island." But these pressing "accounts" were never settled; and the convenient opportunity to look after the turbulent island never came. An Irish settlement would be vigorously begun, to be suddenly dropped, that what was deemed a more pressing exigency might be first disposed of. Ireland was thus always to be, but never was, dealt with. It was, therefore, always tempted into the insurrections which, in their outcome, were uniformly fatal. We must add, that the chief of sinners in the character of tempter was the head of the Roman Catholic Church.

Thus it is explained that from Henry II. to Victoria, the cause of causes in accounting for the miseries of Ireland was in the vacillating policy of the normally conquering party — in brief, *in England's lack of thoroughness.*

In all this we are giving not opinions but facts. The key to all the Irish griefs is not in conquests, is not in confiscations, is not even in bad government — it is in half-government; in spasmodic, intermittent government; in government that neither vigorously took Ireland in hand, nor yet took the hand off, that had policies but never a policy. Had Henry II., or had Cromwell, driven every Irishman into the sea, and put an Englishman into his place, savage as the policy would have been, terrible as it would have proved to the individual victim, to Ireland itself, to the Ireland of

Digitized by Google

to-day the extermination would have been a mercy in comparison with the lack of policy that has been the characteristic of English conquest. The horror would have been for once and for a season, and there an end. Even extermination and expropriation would have caused a far less aggregate of Irish woe.

Indeed, a candid mind cannot read the history of England's chronic blunder in its management of Ireland, and not feel a sympathy for *it* as well as for its victim. As with the individual wrong-doer, so it has proved with the erring nation. England has been the victim of its folly. Its long list of penal laws, — its test acts and its ineligible acts,— whereby at one time it was made a crime to worship in the Irish tongue; at another time, was made unlawful for a Catholic to hold a civil or military office; at a later date, to hold a seat in the United Parliament,— these with the chronic and stubborn agitation growing out of them, the feuds, and violence, and even murders in the struggle for the rescinding of exclusive legislation, and the enacting of Emancipation acts: in all of these oppressive, invidious and reactionary phases of legislation, England really believed that it had the excuse of necessity; that it must do a second wrong because it had done the first; and do a third because it had done a second; and so on in a dismal succession of wrongs. We are led to the strong belief that, save in a few exceptional instances, England has not wished to be cruel to Ireland. It was cruel because it did not dare to be kind; and the danger in being kind — which was often a real danger — was the fruit and penalty of its own folly, *of its lack of thoroughness.*

In any attempt to define the ill desert of England in its relations with Ireland, it is but simple justice to both parties that due consideration be had of the ethnic peculiarities of the Irish as a people. It is among the inexplicable problems that a race exceptionally gifted in a never failing humor, in the inventiveness of ready and pungent wit, and which has, in individual instances, flowered in genius of the rarest quality, has none the less made, with abundant opportunities, full

Digitized by Google

proof of its incapacity for self-government. As a race, the Irish are passionate, ardent, sudden in quarrel, and without self-control. Individually brave, under proper leadership good soldiers, they have never shown the steadiness which inheres in military requirements. Had Greeks or Scots been inhabitants of the island, there would never have been a complaint of English oppression. But Irish annals have no Marathon or Bannockburn. It is humiliating to note with what ease a handful of English soldiers has routed Irish thousands in the open field. It was thus in the dawn of Irish history. Tacitus reports Agricola as saying "that a simple legion and a few auxiliaries would be sufficient entirely to conquer Ireland and keep it in subjection."[2] Eighty thousand English soldiers were powerless to conquer Scotland. The first conquest of Ireland by Henry II. was easily effected by three thousand. In its many rebellions, Ireland has had the advantages of numbers and of fighting on its own soil, and of the patriotic enthusiasm, but in every instance it has been at least nominally put down. As a rule, the Irish have been behind all European peoples in the arts of civilization. A writer, unfriendly it may be, yet states the but too-well authenticated facts in saying that the Irish "have neither imitated their [the English] husbandry, nor adopted their manufactures. Their noble, natural harbors are desolate, their magnificent fisheries untouched, their mineral fields unexplored. . . . To maintain an idle and barbarous independence is their idea of freedom; to repel the first advances of industry their principle of patriotism." And he quotes Hume to the effect that in 1560, Shan O'Neill "put to death several of his followers because they endeavored to introduce the art of bread-making after the English fashion."[3] In the connection the same author cites the very plain-speaking terms, of a pastoral charge of the Catholic Bishop Doyle, who, as recently as 1831, addressed his flock in words which, had they come from a Protestant, would be set down to the malice of religious prejudice, as follows:

[2] Life of Agricola, Chap. XXIV.

Sir A. Alison's History of Europe, Chap. IX., Sec. 14.

Digitized by Google

"What are the sources of your evils? A disregard of yourselves, springing out of your own worthlessness, your own idleness, your own drunkenness, your own want of energy and industry and improving your own condition. These are your vices, the fruits of long-continued and grinding oppression, the almost hereditary vices of the Irish people. Your situation never can or will improve until unceasing industry succeeds to idleness, until obedience to the laws and self-respect become the characteristic of the Irish people. Till then you may complain of oppression, but it will not cease. You may rail at the law, but it will persecute you. No power on earth can at once remedy your evils. The Government and Legislature are endeavoring to heal them, but time is necessary for the accomplishment of so great a work. More depends on you than on acts of Parliament. All the laws that ever were enacted would not make an idle or a violent people rich and happy."

The observing American, eager to consider notable exceptions, has the but too conclusive proof, in what continually recurs before his own eyes, that the ethnic weakness which the Catholic Bishop so sharply rebuked half a century ago, is no less real to-day. And truly it is not without difficulty that sympathy is restrained from turning into malediction, when it is remembered that even in its years of famine, the money paid by the Irish for intoxicating liquors would have kept the wolf from every door, and that during the last year of hunger, more Irish money went to the whiskey dealers than to the landlords.

These pitiable phases of the Irish character and history make two dissimilar impressions upon the English and American communities. One is that of disgust, and a people presenting such a record is pronounced unworthy the kindly assistance and championship so importunately invoked in its behalf. The other is to the very different effect, that the claim of Ireland on the world's sympathy and help is all the more imperative. The weaknesses, even the misdemeanors so graphically described by Bishop Doyle, plead all the more urgently for commiseration and for judicious relief. Clearly this is the Christian way of looking upon the sad phase of the

Digitized by Google

Irish question, for it is chief among the behests of the Gospel, that we have special pity for those who have no pity for themselves. And it is the way in which true Statesmanship must look upon the ghastly picture, for Statesmanship takes the world as it is and seeks for the remedy. High authority has recently said that in the utterances of Henry Clay there are no quotable phrases. We recall in substance at least one that cannot be too often cited, and which reflects a hundredfold more to the honor of the Statesman-orator, than any official trust could have done. When reminded that the negro population as a rule is unthrifty, indolent, and without the faculty to provide for itself, his answer was to the effect: "All the more imperative is the reason why a more fortunate race shall treat the negro with kindness, and seek to elevate him to a higher estate."

With regard to the Irish it is a debated question, how far their foibles are those of race, how far they have been occasioned by oppression, how far they may be traced to priestly dominance — a dominance that is careful to restrict the education of the Irish within such limits as shall not put them beyond the priestly control. But whatever the explanation, the facts are plain to every one's observation. Alike wherein the Irish situation is the fruit of its own policy, and also the result of causes beyond the reach of any policy, England, not less than Ireland, is entitled to much sympathy in the embarrassment it has suffered in the past, and which it still suffers, in its relations to its peasant poor. But it must also be said as a truthful verdict, that it has never taken the Christian, which is also the Statesmanlike, view of its duty in the great responsibility it has assumed and retained since the days of Henry II.

The Irish question is essentially historic. The causes of Ireland's great woe, numerous and varied, interlaced and complicated, stretch into the distant past. The guilt or the folly of England, whatever it may be, is not the guilt or folly of the present generation of the English. It is guilt, or folly, or both descending from father to son through many genera-

Digitized by Google

tions. The difficulties are in no sense upon the surface, and no legislative surgery can abruptly cut them away. Mr. Gladstone, instead of being censured as if he were guilty of wrongs that date back many centuries, as if he had made the woes he has attempted to deal with, merits the gratitude of every tenant for doing all to alleviate his plight that can be attempted on the safe side of revolution. He has made it possible for every Irish farmer to become the owner of at least a tenancy; he has secured to every tenant the adjudged value of his improvements upon the soil; he has put it within reach of every able-bodied farmer to become in time the owner in fee-simple of the ground that he tills; and what seems strange to the American, with whom a free-hold in land is as absolute and unlimited as the ownership of a watch or a garment, he has, in disputes as to the equableness of the land-rents, transferred the authority to decide from the party who owns the property to a judicial body. To lead the House of Commons, to compel the House of Lords, and to coerce the Sovereigns to legislation, so unusual, is all that, in the present temper of England, can be done for Ireland without taking the awful hazards of revolution. He and his compeers have put the Irish poor under obligation of profound gratitude. To smite the hand that gives a half-loaf when the proffering of a complete loaf is impossible, is, we must think, revolutionary and wrong. Whatever palliation the act may have in the irritation that will not see and cannot reason, it is, we must think, a crime, for which, whatever may be its explanation, nothing can plead in justification.

Article XIII.

Use of the Greek Verb Μέλλω, by the Sacred Writers.

The great battle in favor of a new rational Exegesis of the Scripture, which was won by the Fathers of American Universalism was waged chiefly on the ground of the Common Au-

Digitized by Google

thorized Version. But it is obvious to the careful observer of recent movements and events in the religious world, that the field of conflict between the Old and New Exegesis is being changed from the Authorized Version to the Revised Version; or rather, to the Greek Text, to new editions of the Greek Text; even to the original sources, the manuscripts themselves. Thus it is a renewal of the great controversy, in the near future, and under these changed aspects, for which the advocates of the New Exegesis must prepare to meet their adversaries. Fortunate will it be for the Universalist Denomination, if it awakes to a lively realization of the fact, that it will have to deal in the future of this controversy with the best scholarship of the age; and that its victories hereafter must be won, if won at all, with the keenest weapons of modern criticism. These convictions were forced upon us, not only by the preparatory studies for the "Criticism of the Revised Version," published in the *Quarterly* for Oct. 1881, but by more recent investigation in the same line, and especially by certain critical editions of the Greek Testament, quite recently issued from the press, whose reactionary character in some important respects, is plainly to be recognized.

But the most striking illustration of the necessity, on the part of Universalists, of a profound, critical study of the Greek Text of the New Testament, are the facts developed in the previous article on the Revised Version, respecting the use by the Sacred Writers of the Greek verb *Μέλλω*, in connection especially with the arbitrary and inconsistent treatment of it by both the Common and the Revised Versions. As the substantial accuracy and the importance of the views then put forth, in reference to this verb, have been recognized by some of our best critics; and as the treatment of it, being wholly subordinate to the main topic then in hand, was quite brief and very inadequate; it has seemed desirable to give to the subject, a more thorough and exhaustive investigation, presenting all the essential facts, so far as we may be able; and this will constitute mainly the labors of the present article.

I. The Etymology of the term Μέλλω, and its varied signifi-

Digitized by Google

cations, according to the authorities. The history of this verb naturally divides itself into two distinct periods, or phases: 1st. Its use as a common Aryan term; and 2d Its employment specifically and exclusively as a Greek word. It is only with this its second phase, that we shall have mainly to do. As a common Aryan word, according to Curtius,[1] and Fick,[2] it has to be traced to the primitive root *Smar*, "to think."[3] There is the Sanskrit *Smar*, *Smarati*, "to think" (Ger. *gedenken*, "to think, to keep in mind, to remember, to intend, have in mind, purpose); also to wish;" *Smr-ti*, "memory, tradition; *Smar-a*, "love." Zend, *mar*, "to think, to mention, know;" *mere-tu*, "Thought." Then, in the Latin, this word appears under the forms *memor*, *memoria*, "remembering, memory;" and in the Greek as *μάρ-τυς*, "witness;" *μέρ-ιμνα*, "care, anxiety;" and with the change of *ρ* into *λ*, *μέλέι* "to feel care;" and finally *μέλλω* (Germ *im Begriffe Sein*, "to be upon the point, to be about.")

But, as already intimated, it is not proposed here to trace this common Aryan term through its various modifications, till it appears under its Greek form *μέλλω*. Taking this form, as the basis and starting-point of these investigations, we seek to ascertain what, as strictly a Greek word, is its radical signification, and its various derived senses. According to Liddell and Scott (*sub voc.*) we have for "radical signification, *to be on the point to* do or suffer something, with the future infinitive, more rarely the present, and still more rarely the aorist." Then, secondarily: 1st. "With an express notion of free-will and choice, *to intend*, *design*, *purpose*." 2d. "*To be about to do*, whether one will or not, and so *to be made to do*, especially by the Divine Will, hence *to be fated*, *and destined to do*," 3d. "To mark a *possibility* or *probability*, expressed by our (terms) *will*, *may*, etc. 4th. *To be always going to do*, without doing, and so *to delay*, *put off*, *hesitate*." "In the

[1] Curtius. Grundzüge, etc. 2nd Aufl. pp. 331–2, 443, etc.

[2] Fick Vergl. Wörterb. d. Indog. Sprachen. B. I. ss. 254, 836, etc.

[3] Note. According to Prof. M. Müller, even *smar* is from *mar*; thus, s-mar. See this author's detailed history of the development of the root *mar*, in the Indo-European tongues generally (Lect. Sci. Language. 2nd Series. pp. 332–350), which is very interesting.

Digitized by Google

neuter *τὸ μέλλον, τὰ μέλλοντα, things to come, the event, issue, the future.*"

Such is the radical signification of the verb before us, together with its various derived senses, as employed by the classic authors. So far as regards these different meanings, there seems to be but little difference between its use by the classic and the New Test. writers. Robinson (Gr. Lex. New Test. S. V.) defines *μέλλω*, substantially as follows: 1st. "*To be about to* do or suffer anything, *to be on the point of*," etc. 2nd. "Implying purpose,—*to have in mind, to intend, will*, followed by the infinitive present," etc. A person *about to do* something naturally *intends* to do it; hence this secondary meaning. 3d. "*Ought, should, must*, implying necessity; and so *may, can, will*, implying possibility." 4th. "To be ever about to do, *i. e., to linger, to delay.*" With these two leading authorities, compare the others cited in the previous article, as Sophocles, Fisk, for the classic Greek; Stuart, Campbell, Lange, and others, for the New Test. dialect. So, also, as an excellent authority for the classic usage, add to the testimony before cited, that of Dr. Moor, as follows; "To express a *purpose of doing*, or the *proximity* of an event, *μέλλω*, with the infinitive, is used; *ὅτι μέλλεις λέγειν, whatever you are about to say.*"[4] But still more to the point, the same author remarks: "In each of these three divisions of time, also (past, present, and future), by means of an auxiliary verb and the infinite, an action may be represented as on the point of beginning; as, present, *μέλλω γράφειν, I am about to write;* past, *ἔμελλον γράφειν, I was about to write; future, μελλήσω γράφειν, I shall be about to write;* thus furnishing, by a circumlocution, as it were, three additional tenses, so that by all, an action may be represented as past, present, or future; and in each of these divisions as incomplete, complete, or about to be commenced or completed."[5] Precisely the same principles and definitions are applied by Prof. Stuart to the New Test. Greek, but his exposition covers so much space, that we can merely allude to it here, without attempting to quote his language.[6] Nor is

[4] Moor's Gr. Gram. Trans. and Ed. by Rev. P. Bullions. p. 94.
[5] Ibid. p. 90.
[6] Gr. Gram. New Test., Sec. 185.

Digitized by Google

it necessary to multiply proofs upon the point before us. The great amount of evidence already presented, including that in the previous article, to establish the radical and derived senses of the verb in question, is really super-abundant for the purpose; and especially as no differences of opinion respecting these meanings exist among the authorities. It is only necessary to bear constantly in mind, that the notion of "to be about to do," or "to be on the point of doing," is admitted on all sides to be the primary, radical sense of the term.

II. *Example of the ordinary use of Μέλλω, by the Classic and Hellenistic Greek, outside of the New Testament.*

Under this head, since the list of works in the original Greek, at our command, is quite limited, our references will be correspondingly limited, yet sufficiently numerous and varied, to establish beyond doubt the particular *usus loquendi* for which we contend. We shall confine ourselves, also, to those particular Greek Texts, of which we possess a reliable translation by another hand than our own, such renderings not being subject to the suspicion of any undue influences operating upon our own mind. Again, we wish to advertise the reader beforehand, of a very important fact which will be developed as we proceed; namely, that whatever the particular sense in which the author employs μέλλω, whether in its radical or derived meanings, it will be found almost invariably from the context, if not from the phrase quoted, that the action or event to which this verb refers in the future, is actually conceived by the writer as in the *near* future. But we proceed with the references.

1*st. The Homeric Use of Μέλλω; and (a) The Iliad.*[7]

Il. ii. 36: "And left him pondering these things in his mind, which were *not destined* (οὐ . . ἔμελλε) to be accomplished" (Buckley's Trans.). Il. ii. 39: "For even he *was about yet to impose* (θησειν . . ἔτ' ἔμελλεν) additional hardships and sorrows" (Buckley. "For he *meant to impose*," — Bailie). The poem relates here to the dream sent by Jove

[7] See for Text: The Iliad of Homer, Text and Notes. By Prof. C. C. Felton. Boston. 1857. Also, Text and Notes. By Dr. G. R. Bailie. Dublin. 1846. Again, The Iliad of Homer. Literally Translated. By Thomas A. Buckley. New York. 1860.

Digitized by Google

to Agamemnon, to mislead him into an immediate attack of the Trojans. In both passages, the verb refers to events soon following, as shown by the context. In line 36, the rendering, "not destined" is compulsory; but in line 39 it is optional, whether we translate "was about" or "meant" to impose; since what one is *about* to do, he *intends* to do. Il. vi. 52: "And he was already *on the point of consigning* (ἔμελλε . . . δώσειν) him to the care" (Bailie). Buckley's rendering is nearly the same. It would be more literal to say: "He was about to consign," in accordance with the infinitive following. The passage itself shows that the action was contemplated as in the proximate future. Il. vi. 515: "When he *was about to turn off* (ἔμελλε στρέψεσθαι) from the place" (Bailie). Buckley renders it: "when he was now about to depart from the place," etc. Il. ii. 694: "But speedily *was he about* (ἔμελλεν) to be roused" (Buckley). Il. xxiii. 544: "Thou *thoughtest* (μέλλεις) to strip me of the prize" (Lidd–Scott. *sub.* μέλλω). But Buckley translates: "for thou art about to deprive me of my reward"; showing that the *near* future is referred to, quite often, when the rendering does not exhibit it. Il. xxii. 356: "Nor did *I think I should* (ἔμελλον) persuade thee" (Lidd–Scott. S. V.); but Buckley: "Nor was *I destined* to persuade thee." Here, the past instead of future is conceived by the writer.

(*b*) *The Odyssey.*[8] We follow below, as nearly as may be, the order of the passages, as they occur in the poem.

Od. i. 232: "This house formerly *promised to be* (μέλλεν) rich and illustrious" (Buckley). The translator says in a foot-note: "Literally, 'was *about to be.*'" The reference of the verb here is to past time (See Moor already cited on this point). Od. ii. 156: "And considered in their mind what things *were about* (ἔμελλον) to be brought to pass" (Buckley). Od. iv. 94: "And *ye must have heard* (μέλλετ' ακουέμεν) these things of your fathers" (Buckley). The verb is here used in a derived sense, and with reference to the past. Od. iv.

[8] Owen's Homer's Odyssey. Text and Notes. New York. 1853. Also, The Odyssey of Homer. Literally Translated. By Thos. A. Buckley. London. 1858. Bohn.

Digitized by Google

200: "As thou *must* (μέλλεις) be aware" (Buckley). Here, the reference is to the present, with a secondary meaning of the verb. Od. iv. 514: "He was now immediately *about* (ἔμελλε) to come to the lofty mountain" (Buckley). We return, in this passage, to the radical sense of the verb. Od. vi. 110: "But when they were *about* (ἔμελλε) to return home again" (Buckley). Od. vi. 185: "Ulysses . . was *about* (ἔμελλεν) to mingle" (Buckley). The same radical sense of *about to do* occurs again continuously in vi. 165; vii. 18, 270; and viii. 510, etc.

It will be seen from the foregoing examples that: 1st. In the use of μέλλω, the writer may place himself in either of the three divisions of time,— the past, present, or future. 2nd. Whatever division is assumed, the verb has usually the sense of "about to do," etc. 3d. But where the verb takes a secondary sense, even, as "to be destined," "it is possible," the actual reference is generally to the *near*, instead of the *distant* future.

2nd. *Thucydides. History of the Peloponnesian war.*[9] We follow the order of phrases as they occur in the Text, so far as we have discovered them.

Lib. i. 10: "As they were *going* (μέλλοντες) to cross the open sea." It is optional here, whether we translate: "were *going* to cross," or: "were *about* to cross," as the context shows that the action was conceived by the writer in the immediate future. Lib. i. 22: "When *about* (μέλλοντες) to go to war." Here, as before, this verb is employed in its radical sense. Lib. i. 22: "Of what both has happened, and will *hereafter* (τῶν μελλόντων) happen again": that is to say, may occur at any time in the future; the reference being here indefinite. Lib. i. 36: "When for the war that *is coming* (τὸν μέλλοντα), and all but here." The real sense of *about to come* is proved by the expression, "and all but here." Lib. i. 42: "And as for *the coming* (τὸ μελλον) of the war . . . and *not coming* (οὐ μελλουσαν)." It was doubtful whether there would be war; but the context shows that the prospect was

[9] See for Greek Text Oxford Pocket Editions of the Classics. 1853. Oxford, Eng. Translation by Rev. H Dale. New York. 1855.

Digitized by Google

in the near future, thus verifying the fact that usually, even if the verb does not take strictly its primary sense, it refers to a time near at hand. Lib. i. 45: "Unless they should sail against Corcyra, and *threaten* (μέλλοσιν) to land." Of course, "to *threaten* to land" would be to make movements as if "*about* to land." Then, in Sec. 68, we have the rendering "*going* to receive," instead of "*about* to receive"; in Sec. 69, οὐ μελλοντες is rendered "*not* putting it off"; and so in Sec. 70, the verb takes the sense of being "dilatory," etc., etc.[10]

We cannot devote more space to the classic Greek, in the present article. It results from the foregoing: 1st. That this verb is employed in its radical sense, in the great majority of instances, referring definitely to the proximate future. 2nd. When used in any of its secondary senses, the action or event referred to is almost invariably conceived by the writer in the immediate future. 3d. It is only rarely that the term denotes the simple, indefinite, distant future. We proceed, now, to the Hellenistic Greek.

3d. *The Writings of Josephus.*[11] (*a*) *Life of Josephus.* We cite the passages in the order in which they occur in the Greek, thus showing the customary use of the writer.

Sec. 7. "That those our best men should always have their arms ready against *futurity*" (το μελλον). According to Lidd. and Scott, already cited, the neuter, being the form here employed, often denotes the *simple* future. But even here, as the context shows, the reference is to the *near* future. The country was in constant turmoil, and the people were continually threatened with imminent peril; insomuch that they must keep armed to repel attack, which might occur,—

[10] We add a few scattered references, mostly from Owen's Greek Reader. (*a*) "And being *about to kill* him for food" (μελλοντος θύσειν.—Æsop's Fables. See Reader, p. 6. Notes. p. 106). (*b*) "Being *about to suffer shipwreck*" (ναύαγειν μελλων. Jests of Hierocles. Ibid. p. 9. Notes. p. 109). (*c*) "I would indeed if I *was about to have* kings as rivals" (ἕξειν μελλον. Plutarch's Apothegms. Ibid. p. 11. Notes. p. 111). (*d*) "When he *was about to camp*" (ἔμελλε καταλύσεον. Xenophon's Anabasis. i. 8. Bullion's Greek Reader. p. 190. Notes.. p. 272). The foregoing will serve as specimens of the use of the verb by the various authors. But unfortunately we do not have their works in the original Greek, to enable us to extend the investigation, nor have we the space to do so.

[11] The Greek Text is Bekker's Leipzig, 1855. Translation by Dr. Whiston.

Digitized by Google

not in a century, nor even a decade after,— but at any hour almost. Sec. 11. "That you *intend* (μελλειν) to march against the king." It would be equally correct to translate: "That you *are about* to march," etc. The words were sent to the Jews by Varus, who knew that they had no such intention, for, as the event soon proved, this was a plot to get the Jews to send messengers to him, that he might murder them, which he did soon after. This will explain the next passage, for they sent messengers: Sec. 11: "Not at all suspecting what *would come*" (εμελλεν). They were slain by Varus; showing that the sense of the verb here is: "what *was about* to come." Sec. 11. "When the king was acquainted with Varus' *design*" (μελλει). It would be as correct to translate: "what Varus *was about to do*," and certainly more literal. The reference here, also, was to the near future. Sec. 26: "That I *was going* (μέλλειν) to betray their country to the Romans." "Going to do" is often used for "about to do"; and such is the sense here. Josephus had been sent into Galilee to settle the country, which was in a very unsettled state. Certain mischief-making men attempted to create a prejudice against him. Thus, the reference of the verb was to the immediate future. This is proved also by the next passage. Sec. 27: "That their country *was about* (των μελλούσης) to be betrayed by me." Again, Sec. 27: "Your commander-in chief *is going* (ἔμελλε) to betray" (the country). Here, also, "is going" takes the place of "about to do."

We cannot allot more space to this author. He makes frequent use of the verb before us, in some of his writings, and often in its secondary senses. Still, the context shows, generally, that the reference is to matters near at hand, whatever be the particular sense employed.

4*th*. *The Septuagint*. (*a*) 2 *Maccabees*.[12] We employ here, by preference, the later portions of the Septuagint, since they exhibit the use of μελλω at a period nearly contemporaneous with the Saviour's life on earth.

Ch. ii. 16: "As we are then *about* (μελλοντες) to celebrate

[12] We use here the Greek Text by Van Ess, and the Douay Translation.

Digitized by Google

the purification." Ch. ii. 23: "And restored the laws that *were* (*τοὺς μελλοντας*) abolished." The translator makes no use of *τοὺς μελλοντας*. Literally the rendering would be: "the laws *about to be* abolished"; that is, they had fallen into neglect, but were not really abrogated. Ch. iii. 18: "Because the place was *like to come* (*μελλειν . . . ερχεσθαι*) into contempt." The occasion was the attempt of Heliodorus to rob the temple of the treasures deposited in it. Instead of "*like* to come," the sense is, "*about* to come," except that the attempt of Heliodorus failed, and this fact justifies the Douay Version of the phrase. Ch. vii. 2: "The eldest said thus: *What woul.lst thou* (*τί μελλεις*) ask, or learn of us?" The use in interrogatives is very rare. The verb is followed here by an infinitive present: *τί μελλεις ερωτᾶν*; literally: "what are you *about to ask?*" The king was attempting to compel them to eat swine's flesh, which, as Jews, they refused to do, and were cruelly tortured to death. Thus, the action contemplated by the verb follows immediately. Ch. viii. 3: "That he (the Lord) would have pity also upon the city that was destroyed, that was *ready to be made* (*μελλουσαν . . . γίνεσθαι*) even with the ground." It is optional whether we translate: "was *ready* to be made," or "was about to be made"; in either case, also, the action or event is conceived as in the immediate future.

Ch. viii. 11: "Not reflecting on the vengeance, which *was to follow* (*μελλουσαν παρακολουθήσειν*) him from the Almighty." Obviously, we should translate: "was *about* to follow; for, 1st. The verb joined with *μελλω* is in the infinitive, and means "to follow *immediately*." 2nd. The vengeance was soon after actually inflicted upon Nicanor, the person to whom reference is made. Ch. xiv. 41: "When he *was ready to be taken* (*μελλόντων . . καταλαβεσθαι*), he struck himself with the sword." Nicanor proposed to gratify his hatred of the Jews by destroying Razias, a person universally esteemed. An attempt was made to take him in his own house; but when he saw that he could no longer escape being taken, he killed himself with his sword. Thus: "was *ready* to be taken" means literally: "was *about* to be taken."

Digitized by Google

We must close here the investigation under the present head, in order to have space for other important matter. It results from the foregoing that, so far as concerns the ground which we have been able to cover, the Classic and ordinary Hellenistic Greek, outside the New Testament, employed the term μελλω in its strict, radical sense of "about to do," in the great majority of cases; and that, where used in its derived senses, it referred generally, even then, to the proximate future. It was only under its neuter form, for the most part, that it could be taken for the simple future. But we pass now to the usage of this term,—

III. *By the New Testament Writers.*

It is not proposed to repeat here the details of facts embodied in the previous article, respecting the use of the verb in question, except in so far as is necessary to connect them with other important facts, not even alluded to in the former paper. The chief confirmatory evidence of the views which were put forth in the previous article, and which it is proposed to introduce under the present head, consists of the fact that both, the Vulgate and Syriac Translations of the New Testament, dating from the second century, and next in authority to the Greek Text itself, uniformly render the verb μελλω, in the various passages including those heretofore cited by us, by modes of expression exactly corresponding to the radical sense of this Greek verb; showing that those early Translators understood and interpreted those passages in the same sense maintained by the Universalist Exegesis. To present this important evidence under the most intelligible form, it is necessary to offer a few explanatory remarks.

It is not alone by the use of μελλω, that the Greek expresses the notion of the proximate future. Both by the future infinitive and the future participle the same idea is ordinarily involved. Thus, Prof. Crosby, in his table giving an exact translation of the moods and tenses of the verb Βουλεύω, "I plan," has the following: Infin. Pres. — "to plan"; Infin. Fut. — "to be about to plan." So, also, the Pres. Part. — "planning"; Fut. Part. — "about to plan." [18] Dr. Butt

[18] Crosby, Gr. Gram. ¶ 32. Tab. VIII.

Digitized by Google

mann, likewise, taking τύπτω "I strike," for example, has these interpretations; Infin. 1 Fut. — "to be about to strike"; the 2 Fut. — the same. So the Part. 1 Fut. — "about to strike"; 2 Fut., the same.[14]

Precisely the same law prevails in the Latin language. Thus, under the substantive verb *sum*, "I am," Andrews and Stoddard give for the Pres. Infin. — *esse*, "to be"; Fut. Infin. — *futurus esse*, "to be about to be"; and the Fut. Part. — *futurus-a-um*, "about to be."[15] Drs. Bullions and Kühner give precisely the same interpretations of this verb.[16] Then in addition to this is the special Periphrastic conjugation, corresponding exactly to the usage of our Greek verb; employing the participle in —*rus*, with the verb *sum*, thus:

Amaturus sum — "I *am* about to love."
Amaturus eram — "I *was* about to love."
Amaturus ero — "I *shall be* about to love."[17]

It is true that, in both Greek and Latin, translators often pay but little attention to these cases, rendering the verb or participle, whatever it be, by a simple future; but the foregoing examples exhibit the actual, literal sense.

We have now to point out, in the Syriac Language, a usage exactly corresponding to that of μέλλω in the Greek. Dr. Uhlemann gives the rule as follows: "Finally, the future is also expressed by *g'thīd*,[18] 'ready, about to be' — μέλλων, and a following infinitive; *e. g.*, Matt. xi. 14: *dag'thīd l'mēthō*, 'he who is to come.'"[19] This term, Syr., *gathed*, Heb., *gathīd*,

[14] Buttmann, Gr. Gram., Sec. 103. Note. Of course it is only the *Infinitive* Future, that has this peculiar sense of the proximity of the event or action; and so only the *Future* Participle. The *Indicative* mood gives the ordinary, indefinite Future. But even these peculiarities are often wholly past over by translators, although the literal sense is that given by the two authorities named.

[15] Andrews and Stoddard, Lat. Gram. Sec. 154.

[16] Bullion's, Lat. Gram. Sec. 54. Also, Kühner's Lat. Gram. Sec. 49.

[17] See And.-Stodd. Lat. Gram. Sec. 162. Cf. Kühner's Lat. Gram. Sec. 54; also, Schmit. Elmnt. Latin Gram., p. 62. Cf. again the notes on Periphrastic Futures in the previous article, and the authorities cited.

Note. In the example of Periphrastic Futures, only the First Person of the verb is used: *sum*, *eram*, *ero*. Of course the same rule holds of the other persons; thus, the Third Pers., *est*, Past, *erat* Fut., *erit*.

[18] Note. In transliterating the Syriac, we put the inverted comma for the Sheva, and a horizontal line over the long, quiescent vowels.

[19] Uhlemann, Syr. Gram. Trans. by E. Hutchinson. New York. Sec. 61. B. 4.

Digitized by Google

Arb., *gatada*, etc., is a common Semitic word having the sense of "ready, prepared, about to be," etc. It is employed in but few passages in the Heb. Scriptures, in one of which (Job iii. 8) it is rendered by μελλω in the Septuagint; but in the Peshito Syr. Testament, it is employed generally where μελλω is found, and often where it is not found, as a translation of ἑτοίμως, "ready, prepared," etc. But we are now in condition to exhibit the Syriac and Latin renderings, side by side with the Greek Text, in those passages relating to eschatology, cited in the previous paper. For the English we shall give only the Authorized Version, as to cite the Douay Version of the Vulgate, and another of the Syriac, would be impracticable.

(*a*) Matt. iii. 7, Luke iii. 7: "Who hath warned you to flee from the wrath *to come*" (τῆς μελλούσης, "about to come." Vul., *ventura*, "about to come." Syr., *dag'thīd*, "about to be," or "come"). The Vul. has the future participle of *venio*, "to come," and, as before shown, is to be taken in the near future. The Syr. expression does not occur in Matthew, but is found in the parallel text in Luke iii. 7.

(*b*) Matt. xii. 32: "It shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world (αἰῶν, "age"), neither in the *world to come*" (τῷ μελλοντι, "that which is about to come." Vulg., *in futuro*, "about to be." Syr., *b'ol'mō dag'thīd*, "the approaching æon"). In the last clause, the Greek and Latin employ the verb in the near future, without repeating the term for "age," or world; but the Syr. repeats *olam*, answering to αἰῶν. The Vul. has the future participle of *sum*, used in the ablative.

(*c*) Matt. xvi, 27, "The Son of Man *shall come* in the glory of His Father" μελλει . . ἔρχεσθαι, "is about to come" Vulg. *venturus est*, is about to come." Syr. *g'thīd* . . *d'nīthē*, "is about to come. The Vulg. has here the future participle of *venio*, used periphrastically.

(*d*) Acts xvii, 31. "He hath appointed a day in the which He *will judge* the world in righteousness" (μελλει κρίνειν is "about to judge)." Vulg. *judicatus est*, "is about to judge." Syr. *g'thīd dandum*, "is about to judge." The Latin has here, also, a regular periphrastic future.

Digitized by Google

(*e*) Acts xxiv, 15. "And have hope toward God . . that there *shall be* a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust" (*μελλειν ἔσεσθαι,*) "is about to be." Vulg. *futuram*, "is about to be." Syr. *dag'thīdō*, is about to be. The Vulg. uses here the future participle of *sum* in the accusative.

(*f*) Acts xxiv, 25. "And as he reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment *to come*" (*τοῦ μελλοντος*, "about to come." Vulg. *futuro*, "about to be." Syr. *dag'thīd*, "about to come.") The Vulg. has again the future participle of *sum*, and again in the ablative.

(*g*) 2 Tim. iv, 1. "I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who *shall judge* the quick and the dead, at His appearing and kingdom" (*τοῦ μελλοντος κρίνειν*, "is about to judge." Vulg. *judicatus est*, "is about to judge." Syr. *dag'thīd lam'don*, "is about to judge.") The Vulg. employs the periphrastic future. For reasons which will soon be apparent, we subjoin the parallel passage, in which *μελλω* gives place to *ἑτοίμως*.

(*h*) 1 Peter, iv, 5. "Who shall give an account to Him who *is ready to judge* the quick and the dead" (Gr. *ἑτοίμως εχοντι κρίναι*, "is ready to judge." Vulg *paratus est judicare*, "is ready to judge." Syr. *dag'thīd lam'don*, "is ready to judge.") The Latin is the periphrastic future of *paro*, "to be prepared, to get ready." The Syr. is the same as under (*g*.) What better evidence than this, that the Syriac Translators understood 2 Tim. iv, 1. to apply to the same event and period as 1 Peter iv, 5; and that period as then near at hand? Compare then these two passages with Acts xvii, 31, already cited. It is evident that these three texts lend no support whatever to the traditionary idea of a general judgment after death, but on the contrary, in the light of the facts before us, afford direct proof of the New Exegesis concerning this subject.[20] But we wish to notice another parallel text in which the Greek verb is not used.

[20] Note. In a subsequent note, we treat briefly the question, whether the present tense of Greek verbs is employed for the future tense. But another line of defence that may be set up is this: that *μελλω* may be properly rendered at times by a simple future. This is the reason frequently given by translators, for such a rendering. But the question is not alone, whether this verb may sometimes take a simple future.

Digitized by Google

(i) John v, 25–28. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, the *hour is coming*, and now is, when the dead," etc. Again, "Marvel not at this; for the *hour is coming*, in the which all that are in the graves," etc. The Revs. Version has the "hour *cometh*," in both verses. Now the Greek verb for "is coming" or "cometh," is the same in both verses, and is rendered the same in both verses by the two versions, except that while one has "is coming," the other has "cometh." This verb is ἔρχεται, the *present* tense of ἔρχομαι, "to come, to come to pass," etc. As will be seen, this verb involves inherently the notion of future time in all its tenses; hence great care should be taken in translating, to distinguish plainly between its *present* and *future* tenses; and the more in important cases like the one before us. But the expressions, *is coming*, and *cometh*, are wholly ambiguous, insomuch that the 28th verse has been applied by the great majority of readers, to an event even yet future; and to occur only at the end of the *kosmos*. This, when it is the same verb, the same tense, and that the *present* tense, employed in both verses. The only proper rendering in both cases is: "The hour *is come*;" thus: "The hour *is come*, and now is, when the dead shall hear;" and "the hour *is come*, in which all that are in the graves," etc.

The two versions, the Vulg. and the Syr. fully confirm and render compulsory even, the above construction of ἔρχεται. The Vulg. reads: *quid venit hora*, "That the hour *is come*." Here *venit* is 3rd. Sing. Pres. Tense of *venio*, "to come," and this cannot, by any proper construction, be put for the distant future. Precisely the same is it with the Syr. which, in both verses reads: *dōtheyō shog'tho*, "the hour is come."

Take the passage, *e. g.*, 2 Tim. iv. 1, where we have the Greek μελλοντος κρίνειν, "is about to judge." Here is a *present* participle, followed by a *present* infinitive. Grant that μελλω may sometimes take a simple future; yet this is not to say that a present participle and a present infinitive can take a simple future. They must take a present; thus: "*is about* to judge," not, "*shall be* about to judge," and much less, "shall judge,"—a pure, indicative future. Yet such is the Common Version, followed by the Revised Version. Take, again, the Latin Text: *judicatus est*, "*is* about to judge," not *ero*, "*shall be* about to judge," and much less, "shall judge," simply, which is the indicative future. Thus, there is no possible justification of a simple future in such cases.

Digitized by Google

Thus, in the three texts, Gr. Vulg., and Syr., the same verb and the same tense is employed in both verses, and that tense is the *present!* The expression, "and now is," in verse 25, can be regarded only as emphatic of the present; but to repeat the emphasis, in verse 28, would be a redundancy and an awkwardness of style, whose parallel cannot, we believe, be produced.[21] We return now, briefly, to passages in which μέλλω is employed.

(*j*) Luke xxi, 36: "Watch ye therefore, and pray always, that ye may be accounted worthy to escape *all these things that shall come to pass*, and to stand before the Son of Man" (ταῦτα πάντα τὰ μέλλοντα γινεσθαι," "all these things, which *are about to come to pass*. Vulg. *quæ futura sunt*, "which are about to be." Syr. *dag'thid*, "about to be.") The Revs. Version follows the common. It is important to notice that this text is the conclusion of Luke's Version of our Lord's discourse, recorded at length in Matt. 24th and 25th chapters. Already, in the 32d verse, the Saviour had said: "This generation shall not pass away, till all be fulfilled." (Revs. Version., "all things be accomplished;" Matt. xxiv, 34: "all *these things* be fulfilled)." The old exegesis has held that "generation," here is not to be taken in its primary, literal sense, applied to human life, but as applied to a race, or to the church. But the 36th verse above, proves positively, that Christ alludes to events then near at hand, or *about to come to pass;* and hence that the term "generation" (vs. 32) is to be taken in its ordinary sense In a word, the text before us demonstrates the Universalist Exegesis of Christ's discourse here recorded.

[21] Note. The only possible support, in view of the facts above stated, of the prevailing exegesis of the 28th verse, is the doctrine held by some critics, as Buttmann, and Stuart, that the present tense is often used for the future. But even Stuart, citing this very expression, ἔρχεται ὥρα (in John iv. 21, 23, however), observes that it designates the *proximate* future" (Gr. Gram. New Test., Sec. 136, c.). Winer holds that it is only in appearance, that the present is used for the future, and citing this phrase with others, remarks: "It would be a mistake in rendering these passages, to substitute the future for the present"; and again: "in other passages the present is employed to denote what is just about to take place, what one is on the point of doing" (Gram. New Test., p. 265). Such is, undoubtedly, the force of ἔρχεται ὥρα, in John v. 25, 28, the passages before us. It is exactly equivalent to μέλλω, "about

(*k*) Heb. x, 27: "But a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which *shall devour* the adversaries" (*ἐσθίειν μέλλοντος*, "is about to devour." Vulg. *consumptura est*, "is about to consume." Syr. *g'thed vu dinō d'chilō*, "The fearful judgment is *impending*.") The construction of the Syr. is wholly different from the Gr. and Lat.; Thus, Dr. Murdock translates: "But the fearful judgment *impendeth*, and the zeal of fires that consumeth the adversaries." Here, the principal verb is in the first clause, but in the Gr. and Lat. in the last. In either case the reference is to the near future.

(*l*) Eph. i, 21. "Not only in this world (*αἰών*-age), but also in that which is to come" (*μέλλοντι*, "about to come." Vulg. *futuro*, "about to be" or "come." Syr. *g'thīd* "about to be," or "come.") We select this text as representative of a class quite numerous, in which we have the expression, "things to come," "world to come," etc., and in which *μέλλω* is generally employed, in the same sense as it is here. The two expressions, *αἰών οὗτος*, "this age," and *αἰών μέλλων*, "the approaching age," or "age about to come," are frequently put in contrast, and it is essential to the ordinary student of the Scriptures, to be made aware of these facts, and of the exact meaning of these phrases. Other modes of expression, referring to Christ, as his *appearing*, his *revelation* of himself, and especially his *coming*, usually understood to refer to events conceived as yet future, are also found in connection with our Greek verb, which fact demonstrates their reference to events then near at hand.[22] In fact, there is no

to be or do." Least of all can the present be taken for the distant future, as critics have done here; and certainly when the same tense and verb is used in both verses, one of them known to refer to the near future, it is impossible to construe the other of the distant future, involving thousands of years. In point of fact, then, the Universalist exegesis of the passage is demonstrated, when it is found that the same verb in the present tense is used in both verses.

[22] Note. As will be seen, in all the passages cited, in which *μέλλω* is used, the Vulg., instead of using the ordinary *future indicative*, "it will be," adopts throughout the *future infinitive*, and *future participle*, "about to be." So the Syr. in the same passages, without an exception, rejects the ordinary future, and employs the term *gathēd*, "ready, about to be." There is here a deliberate design to reject the notion of the distant, and to employ that of the proximate future. The proof is positive,

Digitized by Google

one word used by the Sacred Writers, whose proper construction so underlies the whole system of eschatology, as the one which has occupied us in these pages. Indeed, we do not see how it would be possible to maintain the so-called Orthodox eschatology, if it were once admitted what is the radical sense of this term, and that it has this sense in so many passages, really vital to that system, yet fatal to it, when correctly rendered.

It is perhaps, unnecessary to state, that, in the Douay Version of the Vulgate, and Dr. Murdock's Translation of the Peshito Syriac Test., the treatment of our Greek verb is after the same style with that of the Authorized and Revised Versions from the Greek Text; the verb is never given its primary signification in passages relating to eschatology. From no one passage of this class, would the common reader ever learn from any of these versions, that such a term as μέλλω was employed in the original Greek. The course usually pursued is, in translating one passage of this class, to refer to others of the same class, in proof that this verb often takes a simple future; and thus by referring back and forth, the list is soon exhausted.

But we must close here our investigations upon this subject. While our treatment of it has been far from exhaustive, especially as regards the use of this verb in the Classic and Hellenistic Greek, outside the New Test., we believe that the general accuracy of the views put forth, will be recognized by our readers.

therefore, that the authors of the Syr. Version intended, in all these texts, to give the Greek verb its radical sense. It is thus certain that those authors understood those passages just as they are interpreted by the Universalist Exegesis. The simple fact of the uniform use of the term *gathĕd* in all these texts demonstrates completely the accuracy of our interpretations.

Digitized by Google

ARTICLE XIV.

The Catacombs of Rome. Their History and Uses.

Roman Sepulchral Inscriptions. By John Kenrick, A. M., F. S. A. 70 pp. 12 mo.
The Church in the Catacombs. By Charles Maitland, M.D. 312 pp. 12 mo.
The Catacombs of Rome. By Rt. Rev. Wm Ingraham Kip, D.D. 218 pp. 12 mo.
A History of Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy. By Charles I. Hemans. 400 pp. 12 mo.
The Testimony of the Catacombs and of other Monuments of Christian Art. By Rev. Wharton B. Marriott, B. D., F. S. A., etc. 328 pp. Square. 12 mo.
The Catacombs of Rome and their Testimony, etc. By Rev. W. H. Withrow, A. M. 540 pp. 12 mo.

Under portions of the city of Rome, and extending far beyond its limits, are numerous subterraneous caverns (or crypts) and corridors, collectively known as the Catacombs. They are made up of a number of underground cemeteries, each having connecting and intersecting passages (like the streets of a town), here and there enlarged into a hall or chamber (answering to a park-like opening or square), and bounded wholly or in part by unexcavated rock or earth. These collective cemeteries, with all their crypts, corridors and chambers combined, constitute an extensive city or labyrinth — an immense intricate network of underground streets of various widths and lengths. The roofs and walls of some have fallen in, and made masses of ruins; others were anciently blocked up with earth and rock, to immure alive Christians who were fleeing and hiding from persecution; so that great portions can no longer be explored except at much cost and toil, and with difficulty and danger, even when conducted by most careful and knowing guides, carrying abundant lights. But since A.D. 1500, and especially since A.D. 1592, the most important portions have been fully examined by zealous antiquarians and lovers of art and religion, and their detachable objects of interest have been gathered into public and private museums, in and around Rome — the principal being the Capitoline Museum, the Entrance to the Catacomb under the church of St. Sebastian, the immense Vatican Christian Museum, and the *Delle Lapida*, a corridor 800 feet long, being the entrance to the Vatican Museum.

Digitized by Google

This corridor alone contains more than 8,000 inscriptions, the inscribed blocks, plastered into the walls, completely lining both sides. On the right are Pagan epitaphs, votive tablets, etc.; and on the left, early Christian inscriptions, arranged under the classes of Greek, Latin, and Consular monuments.

Of the many explorers, Bossio, who died A.D. 1600, devoted 33 years to explorations, and left his great work, "Subterranean Rome," to be edited and published with additions by Severano. An edition, in Latin, was afterward published, with further additions, by Arringhi. After Bossio, Fabretti, Curator of the Catacombs, published a collection of inscriptions; and his successor in office, Boldetti, gave 30 years of labor, ending in 1720. After him, Bottari's labors extended from 1737 to 1754. The most distinguished works of later years have been published by Louis Perret and Cavaliere Michel De Rossi.[1]

These and others have brought the long hidden secrets of the Catacombs to the light of our day, and thus revealed to modern times, the modes of burial and of religious instruction and worship; "the exact ideas" and familiar thoughts and feelings concerning life, death and futurity, of Romans and Hebrews before and at the Christian era, and of the Christians in Rome during the first three or four centuries of the church. Well has Mr. Withrow said, in view of these disclosures:

"How marvellous, that beneath the remains of a proud pagan civilization, exist the early monuments of that power before which the myths of paganism faded away, as the specters of darkness before the rising sun, and by which the religion and institutions of Rome were entirely changed! Beneath the ruined palaces and temples, the crumbling tombs

[1] "Les Catacombes de Rome, par Louis Perret." 6 vols. folio, Paris, 1852–1857. (It sells in this country for $600., and only three copies are known to be in America.) "Inscriptione Christiano Urbis Romæ Septimo Seculo Antiquiores," by De Rossi, one folio volume published; and "Roma Sotteranea Cristiana," by the same, 2 vols. of plates, and 2 vols. text, 1857–1867. The latter was produced in condensed form and reduced plates, in London, by Rev. J. S. Northcote, D.D. and Rev. W. R. Brownlow, A.M., in one vol. 8 vo., which sells in New York at $16. per copy. It departs from the fairness and candor of De Rossi, and *strains* the teachings to favor modern Romanism. The information in this note is condensed from Mr. Withrow.

Digitized by Google

and dismantled villas of the august Mistress of the World, we find the most interesting relics of early Christianity on the face of the earth. In traversing these tangled labyrinths, we are brought face to face with the primitive ages; we are present at the worship of the infant church; we observe its rites; we study its institutions; we witness the deep emotions of its first believers as they commit their dead — often the martyred dead — to their last long resting place; we decipher the touching record of their sorrow, of the holy hopes by which they were sustained, of 'their faith triumphant o'er their fears,' and of their assurance of the resurrection of the dead and the life everlasting."

The origin of the excavations which led to the opening and occupation of the Catacombs for cemeteries, is supposed to date back to, if not before, the foundation of Rome — when the *arenarii* (sand diggers) dug sand from the earth to make mortar or cement for the houses and walls. Finding in the adjacent and underlying *tufa lithoide* (a hard volcanic stone) and *pozzolano*, (dry volcanic ashes used in making "Roman cement,") exactly what was needed for the time-defying masonry of their walls, the *Cloaca Maxima*, and other immense structures; they also found in the softer *tufa* and *breccia* (a composition of *tufa* and coarse sand or gravel, like pudding-stone) precisely what, at a later day, they needed and used as places in which to bury their dead — what formed their cemeteries which now constitute the Catacombs. When the various materials began to be thus used, cannot be ascertained; but when subterranean cemeteries were desired, the *fossers* (hewers of stone) at different periods, only needed to quarry out the narrow galleries, in various directions from the cavernous sand pits under the superincumbent soil.[2]

As the city increased, and more room was needed, the passages were increased in number and extended in length, or new places were opened and cemeteries constructed. The tufa and breccia, soft enough to be easily hewed out, yet firm enough to form walls and roof, were also so dry and porous

[2] The older writers suppose that the Catacombs were originally made *only* to procure building materials, and *afterward* were converted to burial purposes. Mr. Withrow, on the authority of later explorers, says that the portions used as cemeteries were excavated for that purpose alone.

Digitized by Google

as to be peculiarly adapted to the uses desired. In the walls of the corridors, cells were excavated in which to place the cinerary urns containing the ashes left after burning the bodies of the dead — cremation being customary among the Romans. Each cell containing urns, was closed by a tile of terra cotta, or by a slab of tufa or other stone, cemented over the opening, and on which were inscribed the names and titles, (or vocations) of the deceased, with such emblems and expressions of regard, and of the grief and wishes of the survivors, as respect and affection dictated. In some cases individuals, while in health and life, prepared their own cells and inscriptions; or provided them for their families and households. This was frequently done by the pagan Romans. Groups of the cells, (generally arranged in clusters,) belonging to a family, household, or society, from their size, numbers and appearance, were called *Columbarium* — dove cotes. Some of these contained as many as 6,000 burial urns.

After many years, people of another race and nation, animated and directed by a religion widely differing from the heathenism of Rome, and entombing their dead without cremation, became sojourners and residents in the eternal city. These Hebrews also required places of sepulture for their deceased friends. They, too, found in the soft volcanic rock just such place as they desired in which to deposit their dead. And as they scrupulously avoided entombing their departed kindred among, or even in close proximity to, those of their pagan neighbors; and as they buried the entire body, instead of inurning the ashes of flesh and bone left after cremation, they required yet greater proportionate room in the Catacombs; and thus the city of the dead, underneath, increased in corresponding growth with the city of the living, above ground.

Had no other religious difference kept asunder the remains of departed Jews and Romans, this burning of the dead body would have made any vicinage, or seeming companionship in death, very undesirable to a Jew — especially after the middle period of his nation's existence. Consuming the human body

Digitized by Google

by fire, had been made terribly abhorrent to the Jewish mind and feelings. At an early day the Hebrew people had been seduced into the worship of Moloch. The image, and the furnace for its worship, had been set up in "Tophet, which is in the valley of the Son of Hinnom, which is by the entry of the east gate" of Jerusalem. There, impelled by the selfish fears inspired by that cruel and wicked superstition, they offered their children in sacrifice to that idol — "caused them to pass through the fire to Moloch." To break up and forever after prevent this abominable idolatry, King Josiah defiled the valley of Hinnom, by making it a place of execution for the basest criminals, and of deposit for dead carcasses and other filth of the city. The carcasses bred worms, and, with other filth, caused pestilential stench, and hence, to prevent pestilence, a perpetual fire was kept burning in that valley. Thus made a place of execration by the execution of criminals, and of loathing by dead carcases, disgusting worms and consuming fires, and all associated with their nation's apostacy and their ancestors' cruelty and shame, the very name of Tophet became to a Jew the synonym of all that was horrible and abominable. And, as if all these associations with the past and the present were not sufficient to make the burning of the human body a dread and a detestation, a more fearful future was combined with them. Their most revered prophets, in predicting the degeneracy and decline of their nation, the desolation of their beloved land, the destruction of their proud city and glorious temple, the terrible slaughter of their people and the utter wiping out of their nation, prefigured all under that dread name of "Tophet which is in the valley of Hinnom," and declared that the latter should be called the Valley of Slaughter; for that their descendants should be slain and cast into it until there was no place for more — and that their unburied corses should be food for the worms and fuel for the flames, so that the worms should not die nor the fire be quenched." [3]

With this terrific doom ringing in their ears, it is no wonder that the Jews in Rome shuddered at the sight of cremation, and sickened at the bare thought of consigning the bodies of beloved ones to the consuming fires.

Their adherence to intombing and interring the dead, was also rendered stronger by long precedent and practice. For generations before the sojourn in Egypt, the patriarchs had consigned the remains of their departed to the keeping of

[3] Jeremiah vii: 29–34; xix, entire; Isaiah, xlvi: 23, 24.

Digitized by Google

caves in rock or mountain side, or of vaults and graves in plain and valley. And while sojourning in Egypt, these reverent rites were countenanced by the similar customs of the people among whom they dwelt. And ever after their return to their own land, the same appropriate disposal was made of the vacated tenement of life, when its guest had departed — "then shall the dust" — the body — "return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it."

Therefore to the Hebrew sojourners and dwellers in Rome, these subterranean corridors and apartments furnished most desirable and abundant space for burial. Each cell or receptacle, (larger than was used for cinerary urns,) became to their minds a sleeping chamber for its inhabitant; for the Jew, unlike the Roman, did not utterly withdraw his regard from the dead body, nor consider its dying as ceasing from all existence. The departed was "gathered to his fathers," and "slept," or, as some render it, "reclined with his fathers"— as at the family feast — and the grave was designated as the "house of the *living*" — not of the dead. The body, deposited in a cell carved out in the wall or floor of the Catacombs, was inclosed by terra cotta tiles, or a stone slab, generally inscribed with the word "SHALOM" — peace — and with the seven-branched candlestick of the Temple, the dove, the palm-branch, etc. — representing the Divine lights in the heavens, continuous love, and final victory. To these were added the name of the deceased, his office or station in the Synagogue, if any, and expressions of affection, sorrow and hope.

After another period — about 1800 years after the founding of the city — came another class to add their cemeteries to the extending Catacombs. This was, on the whole, a mixed class — converts to Christianity, embracing at first, Jews and probably Romans; but, ere long, including others of nearly every race and nation of the known world, gathered into this cosmopolitan city. In the beginning, deriving their views of religion and worship from Jewish Scriptures and Jewish teachers, the Christians, like the Jews, were opposed in faith and feelings to both the idolatry and the skepticism

Digitized by Google

of the Romans. But, unlike the Jews, they disregarded "the partition walls" of race and nation, because animated by a more expanding faith and a farther reaching fellowship in their love of humanity; and also because cheered by a better defined and stronger hope in futurity. The earliest Christians in Rome were probably Hebrews by birth and education, converted during their annual visits to Jerusalem, or by some kindred or friends who had there — perhaps on that wonderful day of Pentecost! — received Jesus as the Messiah of their people, and the Saviour of the world.[4]

Being originally Jews, their heathen rulers and neighbors regarded them as a Jewish sect; and even the Jews probably viewed them as such, though heretical. Holding the same Scriptures and views of God, with like manners and modes of dress and of living, and similar forms of worship and of burial, and with the same scrupulous avoidance of participation in pagan rites, they enjoyed, at first, all the legal protection extended to the Hebrew people and worship. Thus, in the words of Tertullian, "Christianity grew up under the shadow of the Jewish religion, to which it was regarded as akin, and about the lawfulness of which there was no question." But the Christians, less conservative (or, probably, more philanthropic and zealous) than the Jews, did not confine their teachings to their own people — "the faithful" — but eagerly seized every opportunity to preach "Jesus and the resurrection," to all who would hear "the gospel of their salvation." The faith of the Roman people in their ancient superst tions, was fast fading out; leaving an innate craving for something to take its place in mind and soul. Hence it was not long ere the humane and devotional were quickened into a higher birth, by the doctrine of "immortality and eternal life" beyond death, as taught and demonstrated by Him in whose name it was now preached; and they openly avowed themselves Christians. Probably among these converts, the car-

4 "Probably some of the 'strangers of Rome' . . or perhaps the Gentile converts of the 'Italian band' of Cornelius, brought the new evangel to their native city. But certain it is, that as early as A.D. 58, the faith of the Roman church was 'spoken of throughout the whole world.'" Withrow, pp. 53, 54.

Digitized by Google

liest and the lowliest, yet, under Divine Providence, the most effective helpers of the persecuted Christians, and protectors and preservers of the infant church and its monuments, were the *arenarii* and *fossers* of the Catacombs.

This probability grows into an almost certainty, when we reflect that these lowly toilers would be employed, as a part of their vocation, to select and prepare the places for Christian burials; and, thus aiding, they would witness the (to them) strange funeral rites, including the worship of God, invisible, and unrepresented by any image; and would hear the touching and wonderful story of the death and resurrection of Jesus, and the new hope and doctrine of immortality and purely spiritual life for mankind beyond the grave — facts and doctrines always preached upon such occasions. And probably, also, they would accompany the funeral procession into an adjacent chamber, fitted up for such purposes, and there witness the celebration, by the mourners and friends, of the Feast of Charity — the Agapæ or Love Feast — followed by the solemn, yet joyous and expressive Eucharist, commemorative of Jesus, risen from death, and alive forevermore.[5]

And, lastly, the *fossers* would be hired to carve on the covering slab, singular and expressive emblems and inscriptions, declaring victory over death, peace and hope in Christ

[5] Mr. Hemans says, (p. 55,) that certain gilt glasses called "tazze" were used at funerals as well as in the Agapæ and on other occasions, as is seen in representations in the Catacombs, and adds, (p. 573,) "It can no more be doubted from the evidence in this antiquarian sphere, than from that so abundant in patristic literature to the same effect, that the Eucharistic rite was *the* leading act of worship, the mystic centre around which the faithful assembled for every occasion for their more solemn devotions, *except those of evening or night vigils.*" The whole tenor of his remarks, with his exception (which we italicise), includes the Love Feast as preceding the Lord's Supper, and *both* as being observed at funerals. Dr Maitland, speaking of the numerous cups [tazze?] found within or fastened to the covering stones of graves, (formerly supposed to contain the blood of martyrs, but, later, the sediment of Eucharistic wine,) and referring to an explanation of their presence there, as given by some, says: "But this heterodox custom, [of administering the Eucharist to the dead] prevalent in the 7th century, will scarcely account for the more ancient cups and vases: an easier explanation might be found in the Agapæ *held over the grave of a newly buried person;* or, in the wish to express the deceased to have been a communicant."

Digitized by Google

the crucified, assurance of immortality and of joyful reunion in heaven All this could not fail to attract, interest, and finally win the humble and loving among them; differing, as it did, so widely from what they witnessed at heathen funerals — hopelessness of any future life, sensual feasting and conviviality by the companions of the deceased, the utter despair of the mourners, with querulous reproaches of the gods, and the cold apathy and indifference of other attendants. For, about this period, general doubt, if not positive disbelief, had eaten out nearly all faith in the fables of paganism concerning future existence, and left a blank despair to incite hopeless mourners to cry out, as the utmost height of human wisdom — "Let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die."[6]

We have written of the early conversion of *arenarii* and *fossers*, as specially important and providential for the preservation of the Church, its members, and its monuments. Says Maitland (p. 24) — "The *arenarii* or sand diggers were persons of the lowest grade, and, from the nature of their occupation, probably formed a distinct class. There is reason to suppose that Christianity spread very early among them; for, in time of persecution, the converts employed in the subterranean passages not only took refuge there themselves, but also put the whole church in possession of these otherwise inaccessible retreats." The *fossers*, though probably one social grade above the sand diggers, were closely connected with them in vocation; and in regard to knowledge and use of the Catacombs, they were probably equals. Both were intimately acquainted with their labarynthine intricacies — both were sure guides to those who fled there for refuge, or to escape from persecution — both could aid in quarrying out cemeteries for the dead, remote chambers for worshipping

[6] From the tomb of Titus Claudius Secundus — "Here [in life] he enjoys everything. Baths, wine and love ruin our constitutions, but — they make life what it is! Farewell—farewell." Mariott, p. 79, —who also says—p. 186—"In a Roman monument which I had occasion to publish not long since, a father (Caius Sextus, by name) is represented bidding farewell to his daughter, and two words — 'VALE ÆTERNAM' —Farewell, forever—gives an expressive utterance to the feeling of blank and hopeless severance with which Greeks and Romans were burdened when the reality of death was before their eyes."

Digitized by Google

congregations, and places of concealment from the spy and informer,—and both could open unsuspected places of entrance or of egress, for the fleeing victims of hate and cruelty — all of which were needed, during periods of persecution, for the security or escape of Christians, and for preserving the memorials of the early church.

In these uses of the Catacombs by the early and rapidly increasing Christian church, a further extension and increase of their galleries and chambers became necessary. Soon the church increased in numbers beyond the capacity of private residences to accommodate. The temples and groves were generally occupied by statues of the gods, and by altars dedicated to their worship, and hence offered snares for the consciences of the weak, and incitements to bold protests by the strong against the abominations of idolatry which would offend rulers and enrage the mob. And in times of popular commotion and imperial persecution, all public assemblages were to be prudently avoided. Hence the quiet and retired retreats of the Catacombs, became chosen places for religious intercourse and worship — not only for funerals, and the Agapæ and Eucharist, and the monthly meeting for collecting contributions to the Piety Fund; but also for general religious instruction of the young and of new converts. Hence enlarged chambers were made, and furnished with tables for the Love Feast and the Lord's Supper, and with Font and Altar; and gradually the walls were adorned with various religious emblems, and representations of Scripture scenes and events, for the instruction of the children, and of those adults who, being unable to read or to obtain access to copies of the Scriptures, needed such aids. Thus the early Christians, in their days of weakness and poverty, were provided with more and better accommodations than they could have had above ground, even had their opposers in church and State, and in philosophical schools, permitted peaceable assembling, and restrained a specially brutal mob from disturbing their public devotions, and profaning their sanctuaries, and desecrating and destroying their fonts and altars. But here, when bitter

Digitized by Google

scorn and contempt had excited popular dislike and vulgar opposition — here, in the bosom of the earth, away from the light of day, and surrounded by their buried dead, they were generally secure from molestations. Their privacy was aided, not only by the superstitious awe of the multitude and the legal penalties against sacrilege, but also by the Roman law which permitted them, as burial associations, (*Collegium Funeraticia.*) to meet for monthly contributions, for burying the dead, and for celebrating holidays in memory of the departed. And even when persecuting malice led priests and rulers to disregard legal sanctions, here — guarded against surprise by watchful sentinels, or guided far in advance of pursuing foes by those who had hewn out places of concealment, or excavated passages for retreating, or made remote and unsuspected openings for egress when needed — here, in peace and comparative security, they worshipped the Father, instructed and cheered each other, together ate their Feast of Charity, and united with the Risen Saviour of all, in that Communion in which He, according to promise[7] ate and drank with them of the bread and "the new fruit of the vine" — of the "fulfilled" passover — "in the kingdom of God."

Of the Catacombs, thus increased and enlarged by these successive additions to their use, Mr. Hemans says: — "Below the surface of the Roman Campagna it is supposed that from 800 to 900 miles of excavated corridors, interspersed with chambers of various forms, extend their marvellous ramifications; and between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000 is the assumed number of the Christian dead here deposited during the primitive ages. Pp. 47, 48. He adds, in a note, that Father Marchi considers this estimate short of the truth — which seems plausible when we reflect that, for more than 300 years, (namely from about A.D. 50, till after A.D. 400,) "the entire Christian population of Rome found sepulture in these recesses." "In one terrific persecution," says Mr. Hemans, p. 49, "a multitude of the faithful suffered death in the Catacombs on the Salarian Way, by order of the Emperor

[7] Matt. xxvi. 27; Mark xiv. 25, and Luke xxii, 16, 18, 30.

Digitized by Google

Numerianus, sand and stone being heaped up against the entrance, so as to leave buried alive those victims of whose fate was found affecting proof long afterwards, not only in the bones of the dead, but in several silver cruets that had served for the Eucharistic celebration." According to several of the most reliable authorities, 42 separate cemeteries are included in the Catacombs.[8] The entrances to the cemeteries vary in size and character from a mere hole (like a fox burrow) at the roadside, or in a field or vineyard, to an arched opening with descending stairs on the Appian Way, or within an oratory (place for prayer) or church. Sometimes the opening is one originally made for lighting or ventilating. The chambers and corridors are generally made in the soft *tufa*, underlying the soil — but sometimes in crumbling *breccia*, which has to be sustained by masonry. In some of the cemeteries, there is a second, a third, a fourth, and even *a fifth piani* (story or level) of such galleries or chambers, one beneath the other, each piani having from one to six tiers of burial cells in its side-walls, which thus resemble the sides of a cabin in a vessel with sleeping berths arranged in rows, one above the other.

In addition to the sacred character attached to *all* places set apart for purposes of sepulture, they were "invested with a sort of religious sanctity," and had legal protection, not only as real estate, but specially as places for interment — the latter, under heavy penalties against sacrilege. Each burial place, whether heathen or Christian, received this protection; the pagan hatred of the Christians did not often or greatly disturb their congregations until the third century, and then only during outbursts of greatest malignity. And as a humane Roman law gave to family or friends the bodies of executed

[8] As the Catacombs have not yet been thoroughly explored, and probably never will be, much relating to their extent, etc., is stated by estimation — hence the diversity of various statements. Michele De Rossi is said to compute the aggregate length of corridors at 537 geographical miles. Mr. Hemans adopts Father Marchi's estimate of 900 miles. Professor Silliman (Visit to Europe, Vol. 1, p. 829,) on authority of his monkish guides, states the extent of the Catacombs at 20 miles in one direction by 12 miles in another. The number of cemeteries is variously estimated at from 42 to 60 — the first number is probably the number *ascertained* at latest dates.

Digitized by Google

criminals, the early martyrs, though sentenced as enemies of the gods and of the State, were allowed proper burial in the cemeteries of the church; nor did the decrees of outlawry affect the right of Christians to bury and be buried by kindred and friends, until, in the savage hatred against the faithful, and the efforts to aggravate the horrors of martyrdom to the dying and the living, all legal rights of property, all sacred considerations for the dead and humane sympathies for the living, were sometimes outraged and trodden under foot.

The early Christians, as probably the Jews before them, were much indebted for security from molestation in their uses of the Catacombs for burial and for worship, (as already intimated,) to a general law of the Roman Senate, granting legal right and protection to what we would now term Mutual Aid Burial Societies — then called *Collegia Funeraticia*. This law authorized the organization of such societies, allowed them to frame and enforce their own rules or by-laws, and protected them in person and property while performing their funeral rites, and holding festivals in honor of their dead. Hence the early Christians, by organizing under that law as *Collegia Funeraticia*, had lawful right to construct and own cemeteries in the Catacombs or elsewhere; to bury their dead in them, and to worship in connection therewith, (including the Agapæ and Eucharist as part of such worship,) and to celebrate holidays in honor of their dead, and especially of the Saviour — which included Sunday. And so long as the Roman rulers respected the law, "the faithful" were secure from disturbance. As these *Collegia Funeraticia* not only served such an important part in the early Christian church, but are believed to be the progenitors of numerous affiliated orders for mutual aid and relief, (of the middle ages, and of our own times as well,) it may be interesting to give a somewhat extended account of them in this place.

Mr. Withrow says—"There is abundant monumental and other evidence of the existence in Rome, in the time of the later Republic and of the Empire, of certain funeral confraternities — *collegia*, as they were called — much like the modern

Digitized by Google

burial clubs. A remarkable inscription of the time of Hadrian, A.D. 103, found at Lavigna, 18 miles from Rome, on the Appian Way, gives an insight into their constitution and objects.[9] With much legal tautology it sets forth the privileges of this 'Collegium of the Worshippers of Diana and the new divinity Antinous,' appointed by a decree of the Roman Senate and people, to assemble, convene and have an association for the burial of the dead. The members of this confraternity were to pay for that purpose, a hundred *sesterces* at entrance," [about $4.42] besides an *amphora* [about 6 gallons] of good wine; and 5 asses [about 32 cents] a month thereafter" — all of which was forfeited by non-payment of the monthly dues. Three hundred *sesterces* [about $13.28] were expended on the funeral; fifty of which were distributed at the cremation of the body, or of an effigy if the body could not be obtained. There was also provision made for members dining together on anniversary and other occasions, according to rules duly prescribed by the *Collegium*. If a member were a slave, and set free, he was to present an *amphora* of good wine to the College. Suicide excluded from funeral benefits. Of *collegia*, generally, Kenrick says — "The privilege of forming a collegium — or, as we should say, a body corporate — was most sparingly conceded, and most jealously restricted under the emperors, who dreaded all secret associations as nurseries of treason." Yet, according to Withrow, "De Rossi has shown, by ample citations, that the emperors, who were always opposed to associations among the citizens, made a special exemption in favor of these funeral clubs." At periods when all meetings of citizens were imperatively forbidden, the monthly meetings of these clubs, for payment of the members' contributions, were permitted. Marriott says, "True it is, that in the three first centuries, Christian communities took advantage of Roman law giving facilities for purchase of land by *Collegia Funeraticia;* and were enabled

[9] Mr. Kenrick, in his "Roman Sepulchral Inscriptions," gives the full Latin text of the by-laws; but our limits lead us to prefer Mr. Withrow's synopsis and give his estimates of the values of Roman coins.

Digitized by Google

thus to obtain land of their own for the purposes of Christian burial," p. 129. And Hemans says, "The legalized possession of cemeteries, and that of their churches likewise, by the Christians under pagan government, is one historic point clearly established by De Rossi's arguments and proofs. Valerian forbade to the faithful even access into these sacred retreats; but Gallienus restored such sites to the bishops, implying the recognition of an aggregate claim; and during the third century, at latest, that possession was generally guarantied. . . An ingenious suggestion in the '*Roma Cristiani*,' is, that originally, perhaps, it was under color of associations for mutual aid and charitable interment, that the Christians obtained the conceded tolerance gradually extended to their places of worship, as well as those of sepulture." pp. 66, 67. To the same effect, Withrow says, "It is probable that it was under the cover of these funeral associations, that toleration was conceded, first, to the sepulchres, then to the churches."

The By-Laws of the *Collegium* published by Kenrick shows that freedmen and slaves were admitted as members equally with freemen. And by their titles some of these societies, seem to have had constitutions resembling the "guilds" of the middle ages, being composed of persons of the same trade or profession — *Collegia* of Physicians, Gold Workers, Carpenters, Woodfellers, Furriers, Sailors, Charioteers, Forage-merchants, Bargemen, etc. Others were based on nationality, and others on religious profession — as, *Collegia* of Germans, Priests of Isis, Worshippers of Esculapius and Hygeia, and of Venus, Jove, Hercules, etc. Amid such a variety of titles, the Christians could easily find names which would not excite the jealousy of prejudiced magistrates, whose office it was to incorporate them, and thus, as *Collegia*, they secured opportunities to worship God, not only at funerals, but also at their monthly meetings to make contributions, and at celebrations in memory of their departed. The names of some, supposed to be Christian burial societies, are — "Church of the Brethren," "Worshippers of the Word," "Fraternity of Table Companions accustomed to feast together," (probably

Digitized by Google

meaning at the Agapæ and Eucharist,) and the "*Collegium* in the house of Sergia Paulina," like "the church which was in the house of Priscilla and Aquila," named in Romans xvi, 5, and 3. Tertullian, in the second century, seems to refer to the monthly collections in the *collegia* when he says of the Christian assemblies, "Every one offers a small contribution on a certain day of the month; (or when he chooses, and is able; for no one is compelled;) it is a voluntary offering. This is our common fund for piety; for it is not expended in feasting and drinking, and in wanton excesses; [as in the funeral feasts of the heathen *Collegia Funeraticia*;] but in feeding and burying the poor, in supporting orphans, aged persons, and such as are shipwrecked, or such as languish in mines, in exile, and in prison."

But even reverence for places of sepulture and worship, and legal protection for property and rites of burial, faded away before increasing popular prejudice and hatred, stimulated as they were by the bigotry of the priesthood and the policy of the rulers. The repellant spiritual pride and exclusiveness of the Jews had made them disliked among the Romans; and their aversion to those fine arts specially connected with idolatry, caused them to be looked down upon as barbarians. Though tolerated so long as their religious faith and ceremonies were not pressed on public attention, yet the idea of worshipping a being who was not (or could not be) represented under any form or figure, was inconcievable to the common pagan mind. Hence the charge of atheism — without gods (meaning, without images of gods) — so often preferred against Jews and Christians. Yet a report had been started, that, at the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem, a Roman soldier's curiosity led him into the Holy of Holies, and (so ran the rumor) he declared that he there found enshrined the head of an ass! Popular prejudice readily credited the absurd story, and statecraft and priestcraft eagerly circulated it along with the twin charge of atheism. As a reputed sect of Hebrews, Christians shared in this double contradictory obloquy And when, in addition to this re-

Digitized by Google

ported worship of what was popularly deemed the most stupid and obstinate of all domestic drudges, it was added that the Christians also worshipped as a god a convicted malefactor, who had been publicly executed on that vilest, most infamous and execrable instrument of Roman torture, the cross,[10] the Christians sunk to a lower deep in the contempt felt for Jews and their religion. But when they dared openly to declare that the deified heroes, sages and emperors of Greece and Rome were no gods — that Jove, Jupiter, Juno, Venus or the faultless marbles in the temples, were mere figments of the poet's fancy, and imaginings of the sculptor's skill, scorn was added to contempt. And when they made converts from the State religion to the crucified Christ — not only among slaves and lowly toilers — not only among more refined and better educated citizens — but among the professional and the noble, and even members of the emperor's household, scorn turned to hatred and fear mingled with contempt. Even secretly skeptical and atheistic philosophers were roused to protest, and priests in half-deserted temples, and poorly patronized shrine-makers, cried out that religion was in danger; while emperors and senators declared that the foundations of the commonwealth would be sapped and the pillars of State be shaken unless the pestilent revolutionists were put down. The Jews dissociated themselves from the new sect, and joined in the persecution. New charges and fresh clamors re-inforced the old. It was clamored that "the temples are deserted — incense is no longer burnt on the shrines — the gods of Rome, insulted and angry send storms and flood, drought and mildew, pestilence and calamities, in punishment of the people's desertion, and the rulers' neglect to punish." Then, to increase popular abhorrence and hatred, it was declared that "the Christians are in league with evil demons and infernal spirits — are guilty of vilest abominations in their secret assemblies, where they

[10] The cross was reserved for the punishment of the basest of slaves, and vilest of malefactors — its very name, therefore, was abominable to Roman ears, and Cicero denounced crucifixion as a most foul and brutal punishment, and the cross as an infamous and unhappy tree.

Digitized by Google

feast on the flesh and blood of stolen infants and children." [11] These clamors and charges accumulated gradually, but had attained much credence before the demoniac Nero set on fire the city of Rome, and charged the deed on the Christians; for though the charge was not generally credited, the multitude countenanced and applauded the horribly cruel tortures inflicted on the Christians as punishments, by the emperor—even to wrapping the unfortunate faithful in wrappings saturated with pitch, and making torches of them to light up the city at night!

This persecution by Nero, A.D. 64–70, began the long series of fiery and bloody trials to which the church was subjected, by successive emperors, at various intervals; during which it nevertheless increased so as to elicit the saying, that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." Usually, only prominent ministers and officers, and chief members of the church were hunted down, and on refusing to cast incense on shrines dedicated to the gods, were delivered over to the executioners and wild beasts. But there were times of more intense persecution, when all classes, ages and sexes suffered death by flaggelations and the cross, burning and drowning, combats with wild beasts, boiling in cauldrons of oil, and every form of torture the utmost ingenuity of cruelty could devise. During these outbursts of malignity, it was that the Catacombs became the refuge and temporary residence of numerous Christians, who were secretly visited and supplied with food by their families and friends, and led in safety from pursuers by the *fossers*, some of whom were, themselves, the subjects of persecution and objects of pursuit. This hiding from persecution drew on the Christians the reproach of their enemies, that they were "a skulking, darkness-loving race, who fled the light of day, to burrow like moles in the earth!"

[11] It seems almost incredible that such coarse and contradictory charges of improbable crimes could have been made by priests and rulers, and even by grave philosophers; but they are earnestly replied to, and proofs demanded, in the Apologies and Defences of the Christian Fathers. As to the charge of worshipping an ass's head on a cross, proof of such a carricatural accusation was furnished in the Quarterly for April 1867, p. 90, of which more hereafter.

Digitized by Google

These, also, were the periods when the church held its secret assemblies for worship in the Catacombs, and often "in comparative silence," says Mr. Withrow, "all parties ready to flee for life at the earliest warning of the watchful sentinels." Martineau, alluding to certain Romish rites in his "Rationale of Religious Inquiry," says, "When we ask the use of the lights that burn during the mass, how can we fail to think of the secret worship of the early Christians, assembled at dead of night, in some vault, beyond the eye of observation? When we wonder at the pantomimic character of its services, its long passages of gesticulation, are we not carried back to the time when the quick ear of the informer and persecutor lurked near, and devotion, finding words an unsafe vehicle of thought, invented the symbolical language which could be read only by the initiated eye?" p. 19. And these unspoken teachings, prayers and communings were greatly aided and made more intelligible and deeply impressive, by pointing to the inscriptions on the graves beneath and around them, and to the scriptural representations of persons and events pictured on the walls of the chamber in which they were assembled. This important use of the Catacombs during the early period of the church, ere it had imbibed gross errors from without, and while persecutions kept it united and faithful, still remains for the correction of the church, centuries after it soiled its purity and perverted the divine truths delivered into its keeping. To these primitive lessons, here "graven in the rock forever" with the "iron pens" of the *fossers*, and pictured on the walls of the Catacombs, we hope to recur in subsequent articles, to learn what the church in Rome really taught during her days of greatest purity of doctrine and worship, and also to learn what she did not teach, by the absence of modern dogma and rite at that early period.

Digitized by Google

GENERAL REVIEW.

Old or New?

It is difficult to tell, sometimes, what is new and what is old in the realm of thought and speculation. How often in our meditation we fall into a line of inquiry which seems to us to open into a new domain of knowledge, and we dilligently follow it up, making as we fondly imagine important discoveries. Day after day, month after month, we pursue our investigations in fields which we are confident have never been trodden before, assured that the facts and certainties which we are gathering are just so many additions to the sum of human knowledge and thinking; when lo! taking up some old and forgotten work on history, philosophy, or theology, we find that some one went over the same track a thousand years ago, noted the same facts, thought the same thoughts, and reached the same conclusions which seem so fresh and original with us. "Out upon these ancients," said a learned German, "they have said all our fine things before us."

Without doubt the world advances, and in spite of Solomon's assertion to the contrary, there are some new things under the sun, both in the realms of mind and of matter, of speculation and invention; but the man of wide reading often meets among the saints and sages who lived and taught in the far-off centuries of the past the germs of many of the philosophical speculations and theological beliefs which are regarded as exclusively the product of modern thought. And not unfrequently what is counted as a new and dangerous heresy of to-day, found expression, and passed unchallenged as an altogether harmless opinion ages ago. Indeed with such restless, eager, and and ever-searching minds in the early church as Justin Martyr, Clement, Origen Augustine, Pelagius, Marcion and others, but little in the way of speculative inquiry and profound thinking would be likely to escape their seeking, or be allowed to pass without leaving some tribute behind. Neander's exhaustive histories, and Hagenbach's brief sketches of doctrines and opinions, abundantly demonstrate this statement, and discover, as we have said, the germs of theories and beliefs which in these latter days have blossomed and fruitened into full-grown orthodoxy or heresy.

I. Some of our readers will remember with what severity many theologians criticised *Walter Balfour's* opinion respecting the natural

Digitized by Google

mortality of the soul. "I believe," says he, "in an immortal life by a resurrection from the dead. I know of no other life for man after death but this. All hope of a future life is vain, if this is not true." He believed in the sleep or death of the soul until the time of the resurrection, when it would be awakened or created anew. Again he says, "Man comes into the world and dies similar to the brute creation. His mental powers grow with the body and decay with it. God has given him the promise of a resurrection from the dead, but to say that he has given him an immortal soul, is travelling beyond the record." Again, "Scripture, reason, past experience, and daily observation all prove that man dies and returns to dust. Nor do these inform him that he has an immortal soul which survives death, and exists in a disembodied state." *Essays*, pp. 97, 217, and many others.

The Annihilationists, so called, hold that immortality is given to man as the result or reward of faith in Christ, and is not therefore an original endowment without regard to the nature or character of the man, whether righteous or wicked. At a late session in Liverpool of the "Conditional Immortality Association," the Rev. H. B. Murray read a paper in which he contended that "man in death has no pre-eminence over the beast," that he is really dead until the resurrection restores him to life again.

Now it is well known to the diligent reader of ecclesiastical history that this is no new thing in the Christian church. Eusebius mentions a like docrine as held by certain *Christians of Arabia* in the time of Origen, A. D. 220. And Neander thinks it probable that it "was no new doctrine" even at that period, but was very likely an ancient Jewish notion, "that the human soul died with the body, and that it was to be revived only with the body at the resurrection." It seems that some in the church took alarm at the teaching of this dogma, and assembled a "great synod" for the purpose of settling the question — as if a synod great or small, ancient or modern, ever *settled* any question. But failing to agree among themselves the bishops finally engaged Origen, who was held in high estimation by the churches, to visit Arabia and convert the heretics from the error of their belief. He consented to undertake the task, and succeeded in it. Eusebius states the case as follows:

"About this time (A.D. 220) other men sprung up in Arabia as the propagators of false opinions. These asserted that the human

Digitized by Google

soul, as long as the present state of the world continued, perished at death and died with the body; but that it would be raised again with the body at the time of the resurrection. And as a considerable council was held on this account, Origen was requested to discuss the point in question, which he did with so much force that those who had before been led astray, completely changed their opinions. *Hist.* Lib. vi. c. 36.

But these were not alone in their belief of the mortality of the human soul. Tatian[1] Theophilus of Antioch, Irenæus, and perhaps Justin, and others, supposed on various grounds that the soul (ψυχὴ) was mortal in itself, and acquires immortality only as a reward of virtue, by union with the spirit, πνεῦμα; otherwise it perishes with the body. Theophilus says man was originally neither mortal nor immortal, but capable of immortality by obedience; and Hagenbach says Clement of Alexandria held the same view. Irenæus speaks clearly of immortality as given to man: "Non enim ex nobis, *neque ex nostra natura vita est*, sed secundem gratiam Dei datur." He believed probably in the annihilation of the wicked and unbelieving.

Certain of the *Gnostics* following the natural drift of their philosophy concerning matter and evil, necessarily adopted this opinion respecting the death of those souls, ψυχαι, which failed to disentangle themselves from the dominion of matter or the fleshly nature. Some of them divided mankind into three classes: the *Pneumatici*, or the spiritual, from πνεῦμα, spirit; *Psychici*, from ψυχῆ, soul; and *Hylici*, from ὕλη, matter. They held that the Pneumatici only were immortal in nature; that the *Hylici*, those in bondage to matter, or the fleshly and sensual, would be annihilated; while the *Psychics* would attain to immortality if they joined with the Pneumatici and turned toward goodness and holiness, but would perish or be annihilated if they united with the Hylici and gave themselves up to the lusts of the flesh. *Neander's Hist. of Dogmas*, p. 179–181.

At a later period this view asserted itself in various quarters. Nicolas of Methone taught that "only the rational, truly spiritual and divine soul," which was made perfect through virtue by participating in the grace of God, would escape death or annihilation. "If any created being is eternal, it is not so *by* and *for* itself, nor *through* it-

[1] "Tatian sets out from the general antagonism between ψυχη *soul* and πνεῦμα, *spirit*. The *psuche* is by nature transitory, and attains to a higher life only by its connection with the *pneuma*. Since man has estranged himself by sin from communion with God, he is no longer exalted above the rest of the creation, the soul has lost the higher life, and he is distinguished from the beasts only by the faculty of speech. Yet the soul has a spark of the Divine left, and can turn to God by its own free will; and can attain to a share in the *pneuma*." *Neander's History of Dogmas*, p. 157. Bohn's Edition.

Digitized by Google

self, but by the goodness of God. For all that is made and created has a beginning, and continues in existence only through the goodness of the Creator." Thomas Aquinas distinguished between the *anima sensitiva* and the *anima intellectiva*, and ascribed immortality to the latter only. Socinus also took ground that man was not created immortal in the beginning — "Nego, hominem a Deo immortalem fuisse creatum" — but becomes so only by Divine grace or favor.

And in the time of Calvin there were those who held to the sleep of the soul, for he wrote a work in French, which was afterward translated into Latin under the title of *Psychopannychia*, in which he claims to refute the error of those who think the soul sleeps from the death of the body to the Resurrection, or, what is equivalent, the general judgment — "qui animos post mortem usque ad ultimum judicium dormire putant."

Walter Balfour, therefore, taught no new doctrine when he denied the natural immortality of man, and affirmed that there was no future life for him save through the resurrection. And whether he regarded the condition of the soul between the dissolution of the body and the resurrection one of sleep or absolute death, he could point to illustrious names in the past to show that he was not, in either case, without ample endorsement and fellowship.

II. We come now to speak of another opinion which has been declared, something new and strange, and by many looked upon as a modern and dangerous heresy. Reference is had to the opinion respecting the absence of sin in the future life, broached by the elder *Ballou* a half century ago or more, who took the ground that sin began and ended in the flesh, inasmuch as the lusts and appetites ceased with the death of the body. It will be best, however, to allow Mr. Ballou to state his belief in his own language, in order to avoid mistakes. While in correspondence with Mr. Turner on the subject of Future Punishment, he says:

"I became entirely satisfied that the Scriptures begin and end the history of sin in flesh and blood, and that beyond this mortal existence the Bible teaches no other sentient state but that which is called by the blessed name of life and immortality." *Whittemore's Life*, ii. 29.

"If, in the death of Christ, what is called our old man was crucified, and what is called the body of sin was destroyed, we hope that in the resurrection the old man, the body of sin, will not appear." *Ibid*, iv. 172. Quoting the Savior's reply to the Sadducees, he says, "it appears favorable to the blessed hope that the resurrection will not bring mankind into a peccable or sinful state." p. 174.

Digitized by Google

"The Scriptures speak of sin in the earthly state, but never speak of it in the immortal." Referring to Heb ii. 14, 15, he says, "If the tempter is destroyed by the death of the body, we have good ground to hope that sin will not continue." Citing Rom. vi, 7. he remarks, "According to the apostle, whoever is literally dead is of course freed from sin; and for this good reason, the body of sin being destroyed, sin can no longer exist." *Ibid.* ii. 188–.[2]

This doctrine has recently been brought into prominence among us by a statement in the occasional sermon delivered before the United States Convention of Universalists at its last session in Detroit, a paragraph from which follows:

"Death must work a wonderful change. We sometimes forget, in the haste of speech, what is implied by the transition from this body to one suited to the higher needs of the soul. The spiritual body is not cognizable by either of our senses, or by any knowledge of the mind. We apprehend the statement that there is a spiritual body, and we accept the doctrine as true, but both the spiritual body and the spiritual state in which it is to exist are incomprehensible to us. And most likely much of our reasoning in reference to the immortal life based upon analogy, or upon the structure of our bodies, or upon what seems likely to be from what now is, will be found to be fallacious. At any rate, I see no occasion for us to assent to the assumption that sin enters the immortal world. We stand upon firm ground and recognize all that is needful to give effectiveness to our appeals for a Christian life, when we say that the consequences of our conduct affect the spiritual purity of that in us which survives the grave. Beyond this, I respectfully suggest, we are not justified in going."

In criticism of this teaching, and substantially of the doctrine of Mr. Ballou on the same point, it has been said that:

[2] Mr. Ballou says, in reply to a question touching the salvation after death, of those who live and die without the knowledge of Christ, "I ask all who have read my writings to show me wherein I have excluded the operations and the efficacy of divine truth, as manifested in Christ, from mankind *after the death of the body.* Where are those disciples of the Divine Master who are free from all moral corruption? How many can we find in our Christian churches, who need no more refining, no more washing, no more humility?" etc.

"If the resurrection, in Christ, of all who die in Adam, as St. Paul affirms, involves an entire deliverance from all the imperfections of flesh and blood," etc. "All who die in Adam die, as Paul says, in corruption, dishonor, in weakness, in a natural body; and are all raised in incorruption, in glory, in power, in a spiritual body." "Why then should we wonder, if the resurrection effects such a change, that it should dispense with all sinful lusts?" *Whittemore's Life*, iv. 223 225.

Mr. Ballou does not anywhere, as far as we know, distinctly set forth his philosophy of the resurrection, but the above extracts would seem to imply that he regarded it not merely as the raising of the body, but a moral and spiritual change in man wrought by the truth and grace of God, through Christ; and it is to this, and not to death, as some have charged, that he looks for the enlightenment, "washing and refining" of the soul "after the death of the body."

Digitized by Google

"It is impossible to conceive of a being conditioned to progress in righteousness who shall not always have the liberty of doing wrong. The liberty of doing wrong means, of course, opportunity. And it is unnecessary to argue that where the opportunity to sin is open, only those will refrain who have become established in righteousness. It follows, therefore that we have the same reason for believing that there will be some sin in the immortal state which we have for believing that sin will continue in the mortal state, viz., the moral infirmity of men."

We give the following extracts for the purpose of showing that the doctrine is not altogether new, but that something very like it found expression centuries ago among some of the accredited teachers of the Church, as well as among the heretics so called. In the following Origen, the Universalist scholar of the 3d century, replies to the arguments which had been employed to show that a fall hereafter was possible in connection with the exercise of free-will:

1. *Origen.* "Free-will indeed remains, but the power of the cross suffices for all orders, and all ages, past and to come. And that freedom *will not lead to sin* is plain, because love never faileth, and when God is loved with all the heart and soul and mind and strength, and our neighbor as ourselves, *where is the place for sin?*" And, commenting on John's words respecting dwelling in love and in God, he adds, "For good reason, then love, which alone is greatest of all, will keep every creature from falling. Then God will be all in all."

After describing the final and complete redemption, he says, "When all reasonable things have been restored to this state, then the nature of this body of ours will be changed into the glory of a spiritual, in which state we are to believe that it will remain always and immutably by the will of the Creator."

2. *Theodoret*, Bishop of Cyprus, A.D. 393–457. In his Tenth Oration on "Providence," Theodoret, who was also a Universalist, twice at least speaks of the cessation of the passions and fleshly appetites in the future state, as though this removed one leading cause of man's sinfulness. And in his note on 1 Cor. xv. 28, "That God may be all in all," he writes as follows:

"Now, by nature, God is everywhere, for He has a nature which cannot be circumscribed, and in Him we live and move and have our being, as says the Divine Apostle. But he is not in all by complacency. For he is pleased with those who fear him and hope in his mercy. And yet even in these he is not all, for no one is free from pollution (Ps. cxlii. 2, and cxxx. 3). But in the future life, corruption ceas-

Digitized by Google

ing, and immortality being conferred, the passions have no place, and these being removed, *no kind of sin* is committed. So from that time God is all in all, when all *freed from sin*, and turned to him shall have *no inclination* to evil." [3]

Origen and Theodoret believed in future punishment and discipline for the wicked; but whether they believed that these would cease from sin on the death of the body, and entrance into the future life, and so be punished only for the sins of this life; or continue to sin in the future life, and to be punished accordingly until purified, disciplined and wholly saved, the reader must judge for himself after a careful examination of their language. But however this may be, there seems little room for questioning the meaning of the following statements in a treatise on the "Blessing of Death," by

3. *St. Ambrose*, A.D. 390. "For," he says, if the guilty die, "who have been unwilling to leave the path of sin, even against their will they still gain, not of nature but of fault (?), *that they may sin no more*," — the argument of the whole passage being that "even for sinners death is better than life." And again he says, "Death is not bitter; but to the sinner it *is* bitter, and yet life is more bitter, for it is a deadlier thing to live in sin than to die in sin; because the sinner as long as he lives increases in sin, *but if he dies he ceases to sin*." chap. 7.[4]

"*The Future of the Impenitent.*"

It is amusing to note how, at regular intervals, the "Evangelical" press comes out with a labored defence of endless punishment, as if conscious that belief in it was growing weaker every day among the people, and therefore needed strengthening. The *Congregationalist*, the Orthodox journal of Boston, ably edited, and one of the most welcome and informing of our exchanges, recently entered into an argument of this sort, the point being Christ's supposed witness to the future endless punishment of those assumed to be finally impenitent It consisted chiefly of the usual string of texts having in them such words and phrases as "unquenchable fire," "perish," "damned,"

[3] For these passages from Origen and Theodoret we are indebted to Dr. Edward Beecher's "History of Opinions on the Scriptural Doctrine of Retribution," a work which ought to be in the library, however small, of every Universalist preacher; and which no Orthodox preacher, who aims to state the facts on this question fairly, can afford to be without. p. 228–266.

[4] Canon Farrors "Judgment and Mercy," p. 281.

Digitized by Google

"everlasting," "hell," "weeping and gnashing of teeth," "judgment," etc., with here and there an attempt to show their bearing on the question under discussion. We do not purpose to review the articles, but only to touch two or three points deserving some notice as examples of bad logic and of bad memory, for we cannot suppose our editorial friend ignorant of the facts.

I. *Scripture Texts.* We cite some examples of these which, if quoted by an uneducated layman would not surprise us, but quoted as proof of *endless* punishment by one who has made the Bible, and this question itself, a life study, excites our wonder, and shows how even a scholar may fall into the old traditional grooves of interpretation, without any critical or intelligent study of the words or thought involved.

1. "What else than the same doctrine (of endless punishment) did Christ mean to teach when he welcomed the faithful Gent le centurion, at the same time declaring that faithless men, though sons of the kingdom, shall be cast forth into outer darkness — there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." Matt. viii, 11, 12.

Here it is taken for granted that the Saviour refers to the future life, and to the supposed fact that certain "faithless men" are to be excluded from the kingdom of heaven there because of their unbelief. Now is it accepted Orthodox doctrine that those who are *now* in glory in the life immortal, are to be cast out into hell, while others are to take their place, sitting down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob? Yet if the passage belongs to the future world, or to a future judgment, or to any kind of transaction after death, this it what it teaches. Christ's words are, "The children of the kingdom of heaven shall be cast out into outer darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." Certainly, if "the kingdom" means *heaven* as commonly understood, and the "outer darkness" means *hell* as commonly understood, nothing can be more plain than that some of those now saved will be damned, some once in heaven will be cast out into hell!

But does the *Congregationalist* believe this? If not, why does it quote the passage to prove that Jesus taught the doctrine of *future endless* punishment? *Some* of its readers assuredly must be sufficiently studious of the Scriptures to see the absurdity of such an application of the text. And it is to be hoped that *some* may be able to see that "the kingdom of heaven" here is employed by Christ to represent the gospel kingdom on earth, his Messianic reign, into

Digitized by Google

which the Gentiles would enter through faith, as in the case of the Pagan centurion; while the children of the kingdom, the unbelieving Jews, who wilfully rejected all the evidences of his Messiahship, would be cast out to be overwhelmed in the coming judgment of national destruction, the severity of which is expressed by the phrase, "weeping and gnashing of teeth."

2. "The whole Sermon on the Mount is veined with thoughts which look the same way, (to future endless punishment), while its distinct counsel, "Enter ye in by the narrow gate, for wide is the gate and broad the way that leadeth to destruction, and many are they that enter in thereby, and narrow is the gate and straightened is the way that leadeth unto life, and few are they that find it," contains—to that audience — the inevitable announcement of our Saviour's belief in the future punishment of the wicked."

If this language of Jesus bears the meaning the *Congregationalist* seeks to put upon it, if it refers to the final condition of the saved and the damned in the future world, then one thing is settled beyond controversy, viz: that *the great mass of mankind will be endlessly damned!* And yet this is precisely the thing that is vehemently denied by the Orthodoxy of to-day, which resents even the least intimation from us that it ever believed such a monstrous dogma. Now does the New England organ propose to repudiate the new school teaching on this point, and insist that when Jesus used the terms "wide gate," and "broad way," and "destruction," he had in mind, and intended to teach, that the "many" or the majority of mankind, would be doomed to endless torment, while the "few" only would escape? If not, what does it mean by quoting the passage in this connection? It believes that the mass of mankind will either be saved or damned; if the first, then the citation of this passage is not honest, and presumes upon the ignorance of the reader; if the last, then we hand it over to the judgment of Professor Stuart and Drs. Hodge, Parker, Beecher, Barnes and other electric lights of orthodoxy, who unite in saying that "the triumph of redeeming love will bring home to glory such multitudes of our ruined race, that the number who will finally perish will scarcely be thought of in comparison with the myriads of those who will come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads."

But not content with one assertion of the dogma that the few only will be saved, and the many damned, it returns to the subject as follows:

Digitized by Google

"On His last journey to Jerusalem some one asked Him outright: 'Are there few that are saved?' — as if to draw Him out on the very question at issue. His remarkable answer was: 'Strive [agonize] to enter in by the narrow door: for many, I say unto you, shall seek to enter in and shall not be able,' ending with 'the weeping and gnashing of teeth' of the excluded. What becomes, on the Universalist theory, of these who cannot 'enter.'"

Well, if this language of the Saviour refers to the final destiny of those mentioned, then it is very plain that the "many," the mass of mankind cannot enter, and we respectfully return the question, "What becomes, on the Orthodox theory, of those who cannot enter?" They are given over to hopeless, endless damnation. And what becomes of the "few" who enter? They are "saved" in the evangelical sense of the term, admitted to immortal life and bliss. But is this, we ask again, the orthodox doctrine of to day respecting the fate of the "few" and the "many?" And does the *Congregationalist* believe this, and thus part company with Beecher, Barnes, Stuart, Hodge, and other leaders in the chuch? If not, is it honorable to quote these passages in proof of what *it does not believe?* We venture to say this, because in a subsequent issue, February 15, the editor breaks out in the following strain:

"So then we say, there is glad warrant for believing that, when the end shall come, the fair legions and radiant hosts of *the saved will so immeasurably outnumber the company of the lost*, that Jehovah's words by His prophet. 'every knee shall bend,' etc.' shall scarcely seem to come short of direct and literal accomplishment."

A little farther on he says, "we are old-fashioned enough to take the Bible as meaning just what it says." But the Bible says, "many are called, but *few are chosen*." Does he take this just as it reads? What is the meaning then, of the above talk about the saved immeasurably outnumbering the lost?

Now will the editor give his readers a fair and manly exposition of these texts which shall show them to be consistent with the assumption that they refer to the future world, and the final doom of mankind; and at the same time that they are consistent with the doctrine that *the many will be saved, and the few only be damned?*

3. "Jesus on His way to the cross told the daughters of Jerusalem to weep over the future days when the unbelieving shall vainly long to hide in the hills and among the mountains from the coming ven-

Digitized by Google

geance; and after His death and rising He coupled, as we have seen before, with His last comprehensive demand in which the whole duty of the Church lies compact, the warning forever to be sounded through the word: 'he that disbelieveth shall be condemned.'"

This is another felicitous allusion to the Saviour's words as proof of the doctrine of future endless punishment. Possibly the mere sound of the word "vengeance" may carry many of the readers of the *Congregationalist* over this paragraph without their stopping to ask questions; but there must surely be a few intelligent enough to ask what kind of vengeance that can be in the *future* world, from which the unbelieving expect to escape by hiding in the hills and among the mountains in *this* world.

And does not the writer know that all Universalists affirm, with Christ, that "he who disbelieveth shall be condemned," or as the authorized version translates, "he that believeth not shall be damned?" The issue is not as to the *fact* of the condemnation or damnation of the unbeliever, but of the *duration* of it. To give any point to his quotation our critic must insert "endlessly" where the Saviour leaves it out.

After alluding to the parable of the Tares which were to be burned, and that of the Net with the bad fish to be cast away, we have the following quotation:

4. "So shall it be in the end of the world [call it 'consummation of the age' if you will]: the angels shall come forth and sever the wicked from among the righteous, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth."

Well, whether we translate the original by "end of the world," meaning the material world, or by the consummation or end of the age, *i.e.*, the Jewish age or Mosaic dispensation, makes this difference — that in the one case the judgment described took place seventeen hundred years ago; and in the other has not taken place yet. The world referred to is the same mentioned in Hebrews ix, 26, "But *now* once *in the end of the world*, hath He (Christ) appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself." Did Christ appear at the end of the material world? Has the end of that world come yet? But Christ did appear at the end of the Jewish world or age; and the judgment set forth in the parables of the Tares and the Net took place at the end of the same world or age. And to this time Paul also refers (1 Cor. iv, 11), when, speaking of the judgments

Digitized by Google

of God on the wicked in the former ages, he says, "And they (the histories) are written for our admonition, upon whom *the ends of the world have come;* or as the Revisers render it, "the ends of the ages."

But the *Congregationalist* farther says, "Whether '*aion*,' means 'age-long' or 'forever,' cannot materially change the *animus* of the great picture." We think it materially changes the *animus* of the picture whether *aion* means *age-long* or *forever;* in other words, *an age* or *eternity*. To speak of the end of an age, such as the patriarchal or the Mosaic is sense, but to talk of the end of eternity or the eternities is nonsense. We think Paul, when he wrote 1 Cor. x, 11, had a very clear distinction in his mind between the end of the Jewish age in which he was living, and the end of eternity which has no end. And the Saviour in the parable of the Tares had a like distinction in his mind between the end of that age, and the end of the material world; for as the writer in the review knows, he calls the field the world, in its common acceptation, (kosmos), but the harvest is not the end of the *kosmos*, but of the *aion* or *age*. Christ never speaks of the end of the *kosmos*, or the literal material world, the existing order of things. Our scholarly friend further says:

5 "We only take space here to suggest how strange it was, did the Greek word *aionios* honestly bear the temporary sense of 'age-long,' which some now seek to put upon it, that the fact should not have occurred to the earliest learned expositors of Christ's words—living so much nearer to the every-day use of that language than ourselves."

Such a statement is simply amazing, coming from such a source. Does not the writer know that "age-long," or time indefinite, longer or shorter according to the subject, was one of the popular and accepted meanings of *aionios*, not only with those nearest to Christ, but with those contemporary with him, and themselves in "the every day use of that language?" Does not Josephus who wrote in Greek, talk of the *aionian* or *everlasting* reputation of Herod; the *aionian* memorial which he raised to his name in rebuilding the temple, which *aionian* memorial was destroyed before he wrote; if the *aionian* worship of the temple, which he says in the same sentence had come to an end; of the *aionian* glory of the Jewish nation, already crushed and scattered to the winds; of the *aionian* imprisonment of the tyrant John, though it could not have lasted but a few years; of an

Digitized by Google

aionian period which extended only from the giving of the Law to his own time? And does not Philo, the Jew, say of those who make promises and do not keep them, that they expose themselves to "hatred and *aionion punishment* from those they injure — *using the very words of Christ* in Matt. xxv, 46; *kolasis aionios*, "these shall go away into everlasting punishment?" And yet our friend really questions whether *aionios honestly* bears the temporary sense of age-long;" intimates that it is a recent meaning, which "some *now* seek to put upon it;" and wonders that, if it is a legitimate meaning, it has not been discovered before! Here are writers living in the Saviour's time using the word not only in the sense of "age-long," but as the equivalent of a few years only; yea as signifying the "everlasting punishment" which one man inflicts upon another?

And is there no Greek Lexicon in the editorial library of the *Congregationalist*, that it can affirm that "age-long," or time indefinite, is not an *honest* definition of *aionios*? If so, we will help it a little.

Schleusner in his N. T. Lexicon, gives the following definitions of *aion; any space of time, whether longer or shorter, past, present or future*, to be determined by the persons or things spoken of, and the scope of the subject; *the life or age of man*."

Donnegan, on *aion*, besides "eternity," gives "time, life-time, the ordinary period of man's life;" *aionios* "of long duration, lasting, eternal, permanent."

Ewing defines *aion* as meaning, among other things, "the ages; that before the Law, that under the Law, and that under the Messiah — *aionios*, ages of the world, periods of the dispensation since the world began."

Prof. Stuart says, "the most common and appropriate meaning of *aion* in the N. T., and which deserves the first rank in regard to order, I put down first: *an indefinite period of time*."

And that staunch old Scotch Presbyterian commentator, *Macknight*, bravely declares, "I must be so candid as to acknowledge that the use of the terms forever, eternal, everlasting, in other passages of Scripture, shows that they who understand them in a limited sense, when applied to punishment, *put no forced interpretation upon them*." We could multiply these witnesses to any extent, but these are sufficient to enable *our* readers to judge of the state of mind which intimates to the readers of the *Congregationalist*, that "age-long" or indefinite time is not an *honest* definition of *aionios* — every one of

Digitized by Google

these lexicographers being himself Orthodox, as are many others whom we might cite.

II. We come now to another statement of this writer which involves a matter of ecclesiastical history, and which gives us some surprise:

"Origen, the first valiant opponent of future punishment — 200 years after Christ — founded his doubts upon his theory of a plenary and inalienable power in the human will to overcome sin, *and not upon the Scripture.*"

Now the truth is that Origen was not a valiant, nor any other kind of opponent of "future punishment;" for he believed in it and taught it, as well as thousands of Universalists of the 2d and 3rd centuries, and thousands of the present day. The only explanation of this assertion is that the writer confounds "future" with *endless* punishment; a confusion of thought and speech for which there is no excuse, after all that has been said on the subject. And this is not the only instance of it, for in another place he says:

"With the exception of the few Sadducees, the Jews universally, the common people following the lead of the Pharisees, believed that those who die in sin will be punished in the future world; and our Lord, whenever speaking to them, knew that they held it, and knew that they must necessarily interpret whatever he should say in the light of it, and, should he fail to correct it, assume that he also believed it."

Suppose that Jesus and the Jews did believe in *future* punishment, what has that to do with endless punishment? The question is not whether God punishes sin in this world, or in the future world, or in both; but, as we have stated, whether he punishes endlessly, having no purpose of correction, but aiming at suffering and *only* suffering, neither seeking nor desiring to bring any good out of it. And this point is not in the least affected by showing that Jesus believed in *future* punishment, which neither proves endless punishment, nor disproves Universalism.

But there is another statement in this paragraph concerning Origen, equally misleading. The writer says that he was *the first* to oppose future (endless) punishment; or in other words to advocate universal restoration.

It is a very strange thing that only one who is tolerably well-read in the History of Doctrines should make such an assertion as this.

Digitized by Google

Clement of Alexandria, A. D. 190, the teacher of Origen, rejected the doctrine of endless punishment, and taught Universalism. A single example must suffice:

"The Lord is the propitiation, not only for our sins, that is of the faithful, but also for the whole world (1 John ii, 2): therefore He indeed saves all, but converts some by punishments, and others by gaining their free will; so that He has the high honor, that unto Him every knee should bow, of things in heaven, on earth, and under the earth; that is angels, men, and the souls of those who died before His advent."

And has the writer never heard of the "Sibylline Oracles," dating at a still earlier period, which teach that God will restore the damned in answer to the prayers of the righteous? Hagenbach, Neander, any ecclesiastical historian, always excepting Prof. Shedd, will give him the facts in the case.

But finally, the statement that Origen's doubts regarding endless punishment, or his belief in universal restoration was founded on his theory of the freedom of the will, "and not upon Scripture," is even still more wide of the truth. Undoubtedly he believed in the "inalienable power of the human will to overcome sin," but he by no means excluded God or Christ, or the efficient agency of the Holy Spirit from the work of salvation. With him God is the Father of all, and Christ is the Saviour of all, and his arguments for Universal restitution abound in appeals to the Scripture for their support: and no one at all acquainted with his writings could possibly have made such an assertion as the above.

We should be glad to give some examples of his Scriptural treatment of the subject, but the length of this article forbids. We content ourselves, therefore, with calling attention to the principal proof-passages cited by him from the New Testament, omitting the numerous texts he draws from the Old. We take them from Dr. Ballou's "Ancient History of Universalism," which we commend, for careful perusal, to the writer under notice:

Matt. xviii, 12, 13. *Parable of the Lost Sheep.* John x, 16. And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold and one shepherd. Rom. viii. 20–23. For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope: because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the children of God. Rom. xi. 25, 26. For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery (lest ye should be wise in your own conceits), that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in; and so all Israel shall be saved. Verse 32. For God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all. 1 Cor. iii, 13–15. Every man's work shall be made manifest; for the day shall de-

Digitized by Google

clare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is. If any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire. 1 Cor. xv. 24–28. Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power. For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet. Death, the last enemy, shall be destroyed. And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son of Man also Himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all. Verse 54. So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory. Eph. 1, 9, 10. Having made known unto us the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure which he hath purposed in himself: that in the dispensation of the fulness of times he might gather together in one all things in Christ both which are in heaven, and which are on earth, even in him. Eph. ii, 7. That in ages to come, he might show the exceeding riches of his grace in his kindness towards us, through Christ Jesus. Eph. iv, 13 Till we all come in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. 1 Tim. iv, 10 For therefore we both labor and suffer reproach, because we trust in the living God, who is the Saviour of all men, specially of those that believe. 1 Pet. iii, 19, 20. By which also, he went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which sometimes were disobedient, when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, etc. 1 John ii, 1, 2. If any man sin, we have an advocate, with the Father, Jesus Christ, the righteous; and He is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.

Do these favorite texts of Origen look as if he did not found his Universalism on Scripture? and would a perusal of them, and of some of his arguments from them, by the readers of the *Congregationalist* inspire them with entire confidence in the accuracy and infallibility of its editorial verdicts?

The Talmud: Mishnah, Gemara.

In the discussions going on at the present time respecting the Pentateuch and other books of the Old Testament, Talmud, Mishnah, and Gemara are terms in frequent use; and the average reader probably has not a very clear idea of their exact relation to each other, or of their relation to the study and interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures. We have thought, therefore, that the following lucid statement of the matter would be very useful and acceptable to our readers, more so than any lucubrations of our own. It is from an article, "The Talmud and its Ethics," by Rabbi Browne, whose ability as a scholar is vouched for by Rabbis Wise, Lienthal, and others:

"The Talmud as a "Corpus Juris" is to the Jew what the Congressional Globe is to the American citizen. When our ancestors first settled in the Promised Land they had only the Pentateuch to guide them in the path of the law. The 'law' had, no doubt, quite frequently a different construction placed upon it by the plaintiff and defendant respectively, nor could the change from a nomadic to an agricultural and gradually to a commercial life have been wanting in

Digitized by Google

circumstances, rendering certain 'laws' of positive force in the wilderness, wholly inapplicable to questions at issue under the new system. Hence, the actual, or apparent, inconsistencies, incongruities and difficulties, induced the 'doctors of the law' to make the biblical injunctions, ordinances and statutes the bases of extensive arguments, enlarging and commenting upon every word — nay, every letter of the LEX SCRIPTA (the written law), which gave them in the course of time a civil code known as the MISHNAH (learning), 'THE SECOND LAW' (the oral), in contradistinction from 'THE FIRST LAW' (the written).

"The Mishnah afterwards had to undergo, in every one of its 524 paragraphs, the fate of discussing, enlarging and commenting upon, experienced by the Scriptures prior to the existence of the Mishnah, which gave us the second part of the Talmud known as the GEMARA (completion); therefore, as the Mishnah is a commentary, having the Bible for its text, so the Gemara is a commentary, having for its text the Mishnah the statutory law.

"As to the history of the Mishnah, while its taking 'historic' shape occurred beyond doubt in the time of Ezra, at the return of our people from the Babylonian captivity, still its beginning must be traced back, mentally at least, to the earliest days of Israel in the desert. For the Mishnah is an accumulation, a successive and natural growth of the tree of knowledge, the seed of which, being planted with fingers divine on the heights of Sinai, sprouting into sunlight, a modest plant, under the eyes of Moses, nurtured into a sappling by the tender care of his elders, matured into a tree of eternal life by the prayers of our priests and admonitions of our prophets, moistened and fertilized into its gigantic proportions by the tears of our martyrs and the brains of our jurists; every succeeding generation adding a new limb to the combined production of God and man. Thus, rooted in the lofty peak of Horeb, the divine seed of truth never ceased in its natural development, but assimilating the legal precedents laid down at its feet by our purest hearts and minds, according to their constructions of the Mosaic law in its bearing upon the disputes and questions at issue before them, we find it fifteen hundred years later perfected into a civil code, which, like a star upon the face of night, outshines the codes of Persia, Greece and Rome in its intrinsic merit of law and equity, while in system and symmetry it is far superior to the Pandects, having providentially steered clear of the imperfections besetting the Roman code, and possessing by far not so many contradictions and redundancies, as the digests, and that, in spite of the fact that the Mishnah was for seventeen centuries as a 'LEX NON SCRIPTA' (an unwritten law), existing only in the memory of our people.

"The first collection of the Mishnah was made by Hillel the Great, about the time Jesus of Nazareth was born. We know it beyond question that Hillel reduced the Mishnah to only SIX general sections from over six hundred, into which it had been divided at that time.

Digitized by Google

"Hillel's work, interrupted by his death, was taken up a century later by Rabbi Akiba, whose labor we see cut short with his life by Hadrian's hangmen. Again a century elapsed when Rabbi Jehudah the Holy, carried the works of Hillel and Akiba to a final success, redacting and codifying the Mishnah fully, about the year 200 of the present era.

"The Mishnah, as it is ever since in our possession, consists of six 'sextions,' containing sixty-three chapters, which are subdivided into 524 paragraphs. The six sextions treat in their order, 1. The Laws concerning 'Seeds.' 2. The Laws concerning 'Feasts.' 3. The Laws concerning 'Women.' 4. The Laws concerning 'Damages.' 5. The Laws concerning 'Sacrifices.' 6. The Laws concerning 'Purifications.'"

From the above it will be seen that the Mishnah is not only the older and main part of the Talmud, but that it is altogether independent of and complete without the Gemara, having been for centuries in existence prior to the latter; and Dr. Browne informs us that even in our days the six sections of the Mishnah are printed separately, and to every copy of the Talmud — containing Mishnah and Gemara — there are ten copies of the Mishnah alone in existence.

Religious World.

In a letter received, some time ago, from Rev. O. D. Miller, respecting his paper on the "Origin and Doctrines of the Jewish Sects"; he says he intended to have sketched their opinions in regard to the Resurrection, Free Will and Necessity, &c., but abstained through fear of making the article too long — a feeling for which we have great respect, and wish it was more general. Two short articles are always better than one long one; much more likely to be read. Mr. Miller follows his statement with some observations which we are not willing should be shut up in a private letter, and so we give them to our readers, knowing that the more studious and thoughtful will see in them additional reasons for a *de novo* inquiry into the doctrines and true character of the Pharisees, if not of the Sadducees:

"The Pharisees of the more orthodox stripe, and especially of latter periods, identified the doctrine of the resurrection, with that of the immortality of the soul; that is, with the doctrine of the future life. But there were parties in this sect who denied the resurrection of the wicked, under any form; and others who held to the resurrection of the body. The Sadducees denied the resurrection; but M. Cohen thinks it is not certain that they denied the immortality of the soul; since this doctrine and that of the resurrection were often held

Digitized by Google

as distinct. The Sadducees regarded man as perfectly free in his volitions, rejecting *in toto* the doctrine of necessity. The Pharisees held to the freedom of the will, within a certain sphere, outside of which Divine Providence ruled absolutely. Their ideas in these respects were the same as held by many moderns. The Essenes were rank fatalists.

The 2nd Book of Maccabees was written, as M. Cohen holds, by a Pharisee of the party holding to the resurrection of the body. It was written soon after the war of the Maccabean Princes; while the memory of the persecutions and cruelties of the pontifical and Sadducean parties was fresh; and by one of the victims. The 1st Book of Maccabees, on the other hand, was written long after the wars, and by a Sadducee. This Book has nothing respecting the future life. The 2nd. Book often alludes to it, and to the resurrection of the body. Such are M. Cohen's views, and they are probably correct, judging from his proofs.

The better portion of the Pharisaic sect, as Cohen shows, were really the patriots and democrats, politically, and the Protestants, religiously, of the Jewish nation. During the entire history of the sect, till the destruction of the nation, the Pharisees stood opposed to the Sadducees and pontifical class, as the aristocracy of the nation. The Sadducees were always devoted to the ruling class, native or foreign, for they always held the offices of the government, except the chief. The Sadducees, as a sect, were not numerous, but they comprised the wealth and nobility of the nation, aside from the priesthood. They seem always to have cared more for themselves than for the Nation or the Religion.

The Pharisees, on their side, comprised the learning, the scholarship of the nation. They always took a lively interest in the education of the people. They were the constant supporters of the Synagogue, in opposition to the centralization of the Temple worship. They prepared Judaism, by their spiritualistic tendencies, in opposition to the literalism of the Law, for the introduction of Christianity. Progress, in fact, was always their watchword, in oposition to the stolid conservatism of the aristocratic and pontifical parties. M. Cohen produces abundant proofs of all these points."

— Our readers will be interested to know that, after all the doubts, it has turned out that it is really Rameses II., the great Rameses of history, the Rameses of the Israelitish oppression, whose mummy was lately discovered in Egypt. The doubt came from the facts that the effigy on the coffin did not present his features, and that the writing on the coverings was of a later style; but, on unrolling the wrappings, it was found that on an inner one was placed a memorandum to the effect that the ancient coffin had been destroyed, and was replaced when the body was removed, in the time of the twentieth dynasty.

Digitized by Google

By going to Boulaq our readers can see the face of the very man who is believed to have refused the Hebrews straw and to have ordered their first-born to be slain.

— Sir John Lubbock, in his address, as President of the British Association, at York, England, makes the following statement:

"As regards the physical character of the earth, two theories have been held; One, that of a fluid interior covered by a thin crust; the other, of a practically solid sphere. The former is now very generally admitted, both by astronomers and geologists, to be untenable. The prevailing feeling of geologists on this subject has been well expressed by Professor Le Conte, who says: 'The whole theory of igneous agencies — which is little less than the whole foundation of theoretic geology — must be reconstructed on the basis of a solid earth.'"

So it has at last come to this — that the President of the British Association and the Vice-President of the American Academy of Natural Sciences have admitted as the prevailing feeling of geologists, that the "whole foundation of theoretic geology must be reconstructed."

— The Khedive of Egypt is opposed to polygamy, and is working to make his people content with one wife for each husband. He wants to inspire them with a liberal feeling toward all religious beliefs, and to make them respectful to Christians and Jews as well as to people of their own faith. He has given land at Cairo for a Protestant mission, and in upper Egypt for another. He does not expect to change his religion, nor to ask other people to change theirs.

— There is a curious ceremony among the Onondaga Indians with which they wind up their New Year's rites, that cannot but remind the reader of the Jewish "scape goat." They kill a white dog, ornament its carcass with paint, beads and ribbons, stand it on a platform, march around it chanting supplications that it may carry away their sins to the spirit of the air, build a fire, have a harangue and "dirge," and then burn the deceased cur to ashes, putting some tobacco in the flames. This ceremony was performed by the York State pagans, we are told, with the utmost gravity at the opening of this present year.

— A significant sign of the times, and which well marks the great progress that liberal ideas have made in France, is the large Protestant element in the Cabinet. The ministry, formed after the elec-

Digitized by Google

tion of 1877 by Marshal MacMahon, had five Protestants and four Catholics. The same proportion of Protestants was found in the Cabinet that followed under President Grévy, and the late modification of the ministry has brought no important change in this respect. A century ago, the sons of the Huguenots were galley slaves; now they not only sit in the councils of State, but even preside over them!

— The *Independent* gives the following: "A new religious sect, called the Overcomers, has arisen near Chicago. The name is derived from the assumption of the members that they have a peculiar inheritance in the promises which were made to the seven churches of Asia. They disown church-fellowship, as contaminating to pure souls, and church organizations as hopelessly corrupt, and consider themselves entirely consecrated in soul and body to the service of the Lord. They believe that all will be finally saved; but that many will have first to pass through the fires of Purgatory. In all things they themselves profess to be infallibly guided by the Spirit."

— It is said that a German mineralogist, Dr. Hahn, has discovered that in many meteorolites there are pieces of coal; and he thinks he finds "in this discovery the proof of two important things, one being that there are other planets beside the earth which are inhabited by organic life, even if only of a very low order. The second is, that the organic life of those planets is similar in kind to ours. What has hisherto been believed and accepted by analogy finds its first confirmation in Dr. Hahn's discovery. It now only remains for a meteorolite to come along with some human fossils in it."

— The great theatre-meetings held last summer in Kiyoto and Osaka have roused not only the Buddhist and Shinto priests into holding great opposition meetings, but have compelled the newspapers to take sides, or, at least, to report as items of news the growing power of "the Jesus Religion." "Christianity appears to be spreading over the country with the rapidity of a rising tide," observes one paper. Another says: "The priests are desperately eager to stem the radidly advancing flood of Christianity, which threatens to drown them out at no distant day." The Tokiyo *Nichi Nichi Shimbun* declares: "The religions which now prevail in this country are, no matter whether they are permitted by the government or not, Shintoism, Buddhism, and Christianity." The ablest paper in Southern Japan, the *Osaka Nippo*, is bold in its advocacy of "the Jesus Way," on the ground that no other religion has ever given liberty to any nation."

Digitized by Google

— The Egyptian "Book of Hades," as carved on the tomb of Set I., is an important record relating to the lower regions. "The general sense of the composition is that the sun and the souls who accompany him are swallowed up by the earth in the west, only to arise again in the east. The underworld is the place of chastisement of Apap, the symbol of evil, and is *the dwelling-place of the good, as well as of the wicked;* the former there to be recompensed by Ra, the latter to be punished by Tum and by Horus." So far as the italicised statement is concerned, it seems in perfect agreement with the early Hebrew notions of *Sheol* in the Old Testament. But is it not remarkable if, as some affirm, they borrowed their ideas of a future life from the Egyptians, that they should have repudiated what follows — the doctrine of future rewards and punishments?

— As an example of religious liberty in Austria, which excels even Russia as the incarnation of political and religious despotism, we may mention that the "Rev. Mr. Schauffler, who was forbidden by the local authorities of Brunn, Austria, to read the Scriptures or speak or pray at the grave of one of his members, and who appealed to the Austrian Ministry, has had the case decided against him. They decided not to recognize him as a minister because he was a Protestant. Then, when he fell back upon his right as a private citizen to speak at his friend's grave, they decided that he was not a private citizen, since he claimed to be a minister!" With such authorities in State and Church, we may expect such exhibitions as the following:

"The ignorance and superstition existing in Austrian Poland are illustrated by an occurrence in Biala, West Galicia, where, last month, thousands of men and women assembled in front of a church and waited all day in the expectation of seeing the devil appear in tangible and visible form. The report had become current that he had been caught in a tight place by a clever priest, who had subdued him with holy water and prayer, and that, loaded with twelve chains, and in the custody of four gendarmes, he would have to visit twenty-nine churches before he could regain his liberty."

— The oldest medical work extant is a roll of papyrus obtained by the celebrated German archæologist, Ebers, in Egypt. He was travelling in that country a few years since, and learned that a papyrus roll had been discovered lying by the side of a mummy. After considerable difficulty he became possessed of it. It is about eleven inches wide and sixty feet long, and is in excellent preservation. It was written 1522 years before the Christian era, when Moses, according to some chronologies, had just reached his twenty-first year.

Digitized by Google

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. *The Bible Commentary*, Explanatory and Critical, and a Revision of the Translation by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by B. F. Cook, Canon of Exeter. New Testament. Vol. III. Romans to Philemon. Charles Scribner's Sons. $5.00.

This Commentary is prepared for the People, and gives results without burdening the page with a tedious presentation of methods, details and comparisons, such as often confuse and weary the student of Lange's work.

We think we discover in this volume a growing anxiety to guard the reader against the growing heresy of universal restoration, and to fortify the argument for endless punishment. Every passage supposed to allude to this latter dogma is remarkable for its luminous, positive, unmistakable annunciation of the old pagan abomination; but all the texts cited for Universalism, or for Canon Farrar's "Eternal Hope," are merely hints, resemblances, possibilities, or allusions to *other* restorations or restitutions. "The creature" in Romans viii. includes "animate and *inanimate* creation," *but not all men*, only those who believe. In 1 Cor. xv. the "we" means not man or mankind, but the saints or Christians. In the gathering "all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and on earth," Eph. 1. 10, we are informed that "there is no thought of a final restitution of all things; the time designated is that of the institution of Christianity"! 1 Tim. i. 4 does show that "God's will is that *all* should be saved," but than man's will is opposed to it, and so all wont be saved. And so on to the end, showing, as we said, that the rapid spread of our faith is continually in the thought of the writers, and is to be continually guarded against.

The "Introductions" are excellent examples of historical and exegetical treatment, and illustrate the difference between surface *reading* and a thorough critical *study* of the text. And this is specially notable in the Introduction to the 2 Corinthians where the question of Paul's supposed last letter to this Church is ably discussed; in that to 2 Thessalonians, which takes up the matter of Christ's immediate personal coming, and the end of the world; and that to Philemon, in which there are some facts touching Roman Slavery, and the relation of Christian teaching to the ugly fact, worth notice. One must be a well-furnished Biblical scholar if he cannot find anything in this richly stored Commentary to interest and instruct him.

2. The Orthodox Theology of To-Day. By Newman Smyth. Author of "Old Faiths in New Lights." Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.25.

This book is another welcome proof that the theological and church world is moving forward to a more just and Christian interpretation both of Scripture and of God's moral government of the world; that the best hearts and minds can no longer find satisfaction and rest in the Old Orthodoxy, or, as Mr. Smyth calls it, "Orthodoxism," making a distinction between the two terms. "Orthodoxy," he says, "is the continuous historical development of the doctrine of Jesus and his apostles," "fidelity to the words of the Lord still opening their meanings under new providential lights, in the enlarging thought of the Christian world."

Digitized by Google

On the other hand, "Orthodoxism is an orthodoxy which has ceased to grow — a dried and brittle orthodoxy, a crust of dogma kept over from another century."

Mr. Smyth is a progressive Orthodox, and has no sympathy with "Orthodoxism," or the crude, crusty, iron dogmas of the older Calvinism. The new orthodoxy, as he believes it, is not a very objectionable thing, since it "would have us worship God as infinitely majestic, and holy, and yet unspeakably beautiful and attractive. God is Love — Love which includes all His attributes, mercy, sympathy, goodness, justice, all that can enter into the nature of a perfect and adorable Deity." His views of the Atonement belong to the Bushnell variety, and though troubled by the perplexing questions respecting the intent and results of future retribution he inclines to the theory of a gradual shrivelling and final extinction of the souls of the "finally impenitent." He admits, however, that "there are some passages of Scripture which seem to warrant the hope of final reconciliation, if they are interpreted as literally as are the texts usually relied upon to prove the endlessness of punishment": and reminds his readers that "the word over which faith and despair raise so hot a contention is a word *incapable of definition*," and that "Jesus never sought to define those adjectives by which he characterized real life and death."

The following is from a criticism of Dr. Whiton's work, "The Resurrection," recently noticed in these pages:

> "Dr. Whiton seems to miss the idea of a resurrection begun, indeed, at death, and begun according to spiritual law, but dependent for its completion upon the connection of the individual with the whole creation and its glorification in Christ. (Rom. viii. 19-23). The individual neither in this world, nor the world to come, can be made perfect alone. The fruition of the hope of the resurrection-life is conditioned upon the consummation of all things. The resurrection is not merely a development according to the spirit from within, as Dr. Whiton rightly holds, but also a development conditioned upon great cosmic forces." . . . "It should never be forgotten that in the Biblical philosophy of Salvation the life of the individual is bound up with the life of the whole, and reaches its fulness and completion only in the liberty for which the whole creation waits." (p. 167.

If this is "progressive Orthodoxy," all right; count us in. And at this point we would call special attention to the chapter on "Social Immortality." It breathes all through the spirit of our faith, and is rich with pleasing suggestions touching the conditions of the future life.

3. *The International Scientific Series.* Suicide: An Essay on Comparative Moral Statistics. By Henry Morselli, M.D., Professor of Psychological Medicine in the Royal University in Turin. The Original expressly Revised and Abridged by the Author for the English Version. D. Appleton & Co. $1.75.

Those curious in such matters will find here a large collection of facts and observations respecting the climatic, social, physical and mental causes leading to the rapid and regular increase of suicide; and an inquiry as to what methods, if any, can be adopted to remove these, and lessen the growing evil. The book is scientific, and not speculative; and we venture to say that some of the statistics will astonish ninety-nine readers in a hundred.

In France, for example, 111 single men, and 156 widowers commit suicide to every 100 married men; while among females there are 6 per cent. less suicides of girls, and 113 per cent. more of widows, than married women. It is worth knowing, too, that in Germany fifty-six per

Digitized by Google

cent. of the suicides are owing to the use of alcohol. In Sweden the per cent. in 1855 was sixty-five, but on account of the severity of Government measures in the suppression of liquor-drinking it sank in 1864 to 11.2. In Italy, where the wines are light, there were only ninety suicides through alcoholism in twelve years.

The book is a remarkable one in its way, new among us, full of surprises, and opening the way to many things not formulated in its pages.

4. Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers: Containing Practical Information regarding Climate, Soil, and Productions; Cities, Towns, and People; the Culture of the Orange and other Tropical Fruits; Farming and Gardening; Scenery and Resorts; Sport; Routes of Travel, etc. By George M. Barbour. With Map and Illustrations. D. Appleton & Co. $1.50.

This descriptive title sufficiently shows what the author aims to accomplish. Has he succeeded? Two governors of Florida, a Commissioner and an Assistant Commissioner, of Emigration, answer *Yes*, emphatically. They say that their "knowledge of the author's abilities as a writer on Florida subjects, and his opportunities for investigation, are such that they can commend the book as trustworthy, comprehensive, and greatly superior to anything hitherto published."

5. Young Workers in the Church; or the Training and Organization of Young People for Christian Activity. By Rev. T. B. Neeley. With an Introduction by Bishop Simpson, D.D., LL.D. Phillips & Hunt. $1.00.

Pastors and earnest young people will find this a very helpful book — but we advise *all* to read Chapter xx., *first*: "Mr. Moody — an Illustration." Would that we had among the young men of our Church a thousand Moodys. With *his* zeal and courage, and *our* faith, what is there that they could not do?

6. A Peculiar People; or Reality in Romance. By Wm. S. Balch. Chicago: Henry A. Sumner & Co. $1.50.

The opening of this book disappointed us, but as we passed from page to page to page, we found increasing pleasure and information, and entered heartily into the reality and the romance of the author's plan. We have space for a brief notice only of three of its prominent features: 1. It abounds in glowing pictures of Eastern scenery, life and manners. The writer has several times traversed that portion of the Bible Lands where the action of his story is located, and the geography, topography and landscapes of the book are copied from nature. Many of the conversations and occurrences, the conflicts among the Bedaween tribes, the Druses, Maronites, &c, and the dangers encountered, are historical and real; and no more vivid and accurate descriptions of the hospitality, customs, beliefs and antagonisms of the Arabs and Oriental Christians, and of the good work done by American Missionaries, can be found in any recent volume. 2. The author's aim is to present Christian truth in its simplicity, mainly by practical illustrations, and to teach a lesson of toleration by bringing together men of all creeds and convictions, and showing from their several statements of the spirit of their faiths, and of the true significance of their symbols and forms of worship, that all are seeking the same thing — communion with God, and a life of good works, of human sympathy and helpfulness. The spirit of *our* Faith pervades the book, and breathes in all the conversations and discus-

Digitized by Google

sions of the story, though it is not put forth in any dogmatic form. We think the volume, for this reason, put into the hands of readers of all churches and opinions, will be fruitful of good results; in fact, do successfully the work of a missionary in behalf of the Truth. 3. The romance is simply the thread on which is strung the pearls of Christian truth and principle, and yet the reader finds himself deeply interested in the varying fortunes of the lovers; and is glad to learn that evil, with all its cunning and deception, is forever defeating itself.

The chapters on Anti-Masonry and the Morgan tragedy, are a curious episode — how much of it is "romance," and how much "reality," the reader must decide for himself.

7. Illusions: A Psychological Study. By James Sully. Author of "Sensations and Intuitions." D. Appleton & Co. $1.50.

This *thirty-third* issue of the "International Scientific Series" we sent for, thinking it was devoted to a subject to which we have given considerable study of late: and we find that, instead of being historical and illustrative of the branch of psychology in which we are interested, it is a purely metaphysical and scientific treatment of a certain class of mental and physical phenomena, wherein the senses cheat the mind, and the mind cheats itself. The work shows great research in this line, and profound thinking. The reader will find some ingenious reasoning regarding the origin of mental hallucinations, and fresh proofs of how little, under certain conditions, we can trust what most people count on so confidently as the end of all argument, viz: "the evidence of our own senses."

8. The Sinai and Comparative New Testament. The Authorized English Version; with Introduction and Various Readings from the Three Most Celebrated Manuscripts of the Original Greek Text. By Constantine Tischendorf; edited by Edwin Leigh: Tauchnitz Edition, vol. 1,000. Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Co. 75 cts.

This is an exceedingly ingenious work, with the various readings of the three great MSS., the Sinaitic, Vatican, and Alexandrine, so inserted in the text that the whole Scripture according to either, or according to the received Greek text, can be read by itself, while the variations are all compared with facility. The Sinai MS is made the basis, and by help of the others the reader really *sees* at a glance, the New Testament which was in the hands of the Christians of the 4th century; the actual text as it was read 1,500 years ago. Critical students of original N. T. authorities, those interested in the labors of the Revision Committee, and all who desire to see established a standard Greek text, freed from all later additions and corruptions, or as Dr. Abbott phrases it, "restored to its primitive purity," will find in this volume much that is both encouraging and helpful.

9. In the Brush; or Old-Time Social, Political and Religious Life in the South-West. By Rev. Hamilton W. Pierson, D.D., Ex-President of Cumberland College, Kentucky, &c. With Illustrations by W. L. Sheppard. D. Appleton & Co.

A most informing and amusing book, giving a graphic picture of home-life in all its aspects as its was thirty years ago in the South-Western States, both among the Whites and the Blacks; a series of photographs of a semi-civilization which is now rapidly passing away, and the records of which future generations will find only in such books as this of Dr.

Digitized by Google

Pierson. If it were not that the author was an agent of the Bible Society, and president of a College, and a Presbyterian minister, we should be inclined to put a ? at the end of some of his stories, especially of that sermon on the "Big Fight" between David and Goliath. The book gives a phase of Missionary Life in the past which shows that heroism and self-sacrifice have not been confined to Foreign Missions.

10. Studies in the Life of Christ. By A. M. Fairbairn, D.D., Principal of Airedale College, Bradford, Eng., and author of "Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History." D Appleton & Co. $1.75.

Our acquaintance with Dr. Fairbairn begins with this book; we hope it will not end here, for not often have we taken up a volume with so little expectation, and laid it down with a sense of having received so much pleasure and instruction. So much has been lately written on the subject from all points of view from the extremest radicalism to the extremest orthodox conservatism, that mere mention of a new "Study" or a new "Life" is a weariness. In this frame of mind we entered on this book, but we were not weary when our examination of its treatment of the great theme was finished; and we heartily recommend its perusal both to our clerical aud lay brethren. It is fresh, strong, clear in statement, compact and transparent in style, without wandering episodes, or a single instance of unfair, special pleading. The author is completely master of his subject, every page showing how profound the thought, and study, and reading he has given to it; he is perfectly frank in his confession of difficulties, and all sides get a hearing; but when he has prepared the way, he goes through the argument, or the statement of his opinions, with the firm tread of one who feels that the ground is solid under his feet.

He modestly says in his Preface that his chapters "are not exhaustive and critical discussions on the Gospel History, but attempts at reaching points of view from which the life of Christ may be understood and construed." Those who have read and thought much on the subject will feel that he has succeeded in doing this; and that what he has to say of the "Narratives of the Birth and Infancy," of the "Growth and Personality of Jesus," the "Temptation," the "Kingdom of Heaven," the "Earlier Miracles," and the later, including the "Raising of Lazarus," and of the Resurrection of Christ himself—a splendid specimen of logical reasoning—deserve the most careful attention of all, and will surely be very helpful to every honest doubter.

Altogether this volume of Principal Fairbairn is the clearest and most satisfactory discussion of the various problems and critical questions involved in the Evangelical histories of the birth, personality, miracles, betrayal, death and resurrection of Jesus, which the skepticism of the day has called out.

The author, however, hopes to return to "this greatest of all histories and deal with it in a more critical and comprehensive spirit; especially in its relations to contemporary history, and in its action, through the Apostles and the Church, on the creation of Christianity." We devoutly hope that "life and health may be granted" him to this end.

11. Divorce and Divorce Legislation, especially in the United States. By Theodore D Woolsey. Second Edition Revised. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1 75.

One of the most painful facts of our time is the increasing haste and

Digitized by Google

recklessness with which young people, *and old*, enter into the marriage relation; and, as a consequence, the equal haste and recklessness with which they seek to break its sacred ties and obligations, regardless of the rights of the children, and of the odium which attaches to them as the offspring of divorced parents. And without doubt the lax laws of several of the States, the ease and secrecy with which divorces have been and are procured, and the scandalous conditions on which they are granted, have largely contributed to the rapid growth of the evil, which if not checked, will ere long become a disgrace to our civilization. But happily the subject is beginning to attract attention, and the loose opinions and loose laws and practices which prevail concerning marriage and divorce, are being dragged into the light, and there seems to be a resolute purpose among all Christian people to do what can be done to stay the foul plague.

It is in aid of this movement that Dr. Woolsey came to the front fifteen years ago, and gave to the *New Englander* the articles which embodied the substance of his present work, to which, however, he has made, in this second edition, large additions of new and valuable matter, historical, legal and moral. The book is a storehouse of facts and statistics regarding marriage and divorce in all ages and among all western peoples. It begins, however, with the law and practice of Divorce among the Hebrews, and passes from these to the Greeks and Romans under the Republic. Then comes a chapter on the doctrine of Divorce in the New Testament, with special reference to the teachings of Christ and Paul, followed by an interesting statement of the Law of Divorce in the Roman empire, and in the Christian Church, which was now rapidly becoming a law unto itself in this as in various other matters. The historical matter incorporated into this chapter and in the first chapter will interest all classes of readers; and amazement only can come of the revelations they furnish of the morality of these peoples concerning marriage and divorce.

The chapter on the legal and moral status of the question since the Reformation is full and instructive, and shows the peculiarities of the customs regarding the matter prevalent among the various nations; but as a preface to it, Note 4 in the Appendix, on the "Divorce Laws in the Middle Ages," should be read first. From Europe the Author passes to the United States, and here his facts and statistics are such as should make an American blush — and we do blush for Massachusets; but we have not space for citations. Dr. Wolsey makes handsome acknowledgment of the "new researches of great value given to the world by Mr. Carroll D. Wright in 1880," and an examination of his Statistics amply justifies the praise.

12. *International Scientific Series.* The Concepts and Theories of Modern Physics. By J. B. Stallo. D. Appleton & Co. $1.75.

The author takes ground that the atomo-mechanical theory of the universe is not, and cannot be, the true basis of modern physics, inasmuch as it is incompetent to account for the phenomena of organic life, or to explain the most ordinary cases of inorganic physical action. The claim set up that, in contradistinction from all metaphysical speculations, it assumes nothing, and deals only with the data of sensible experience, is found, on severe examination, to be wholly inadmissible. He does not accept the assertion that molecules are "primordial, unchangeable units, existing independently and in advance of all physical

Digitized by Google

action, and therefore absolutely exempt from change; nor that other assertion, that the only form of physical causation is motion caused by the impact of masses of matter which, in themselves, are absolutely inert or at rest.

Many of the questions of science and philosophy, he thinks, remain unanswered not by reason of the insufficiency of our knowledge, but because they rest on erroneous assumptions, and require answers in irrational and impossible terms. There is, in fact, utter anarchy and confusion in the discussion of ultimate scientific questions; and he seeks to show the way out of this chaos by a more exact and reliable statement of them at the outset, followed by a statement of the certain, indisputable facts reached by the progress of science and philosophy in the direction of his inquiry. How far he succeeds in establishing his theses we must leave to those of his readers who take delight in the discussion of these abstruse discussions — the which we do not.

13. Thoughts on the Holy Gospels: How they came to be in Manner and Form as they are. By Francis W. Upham, LL.D. Author of "The Wise Men, who they were," and "The Star of our Lord." Phillips & Hunt. $1.25.

In some things we are not in full accord with the author; in other things — the substance of the argument, the historical and critical matter, the sharp analysis and legal sifting of the several Gospel narratives — this book ranks among the best. What he says of vicarious atonement, and of verbal inspiration, &c., we put aside as not legitimately in the line of his argument; but what is said regarding the Oral and the Written Gospel, the Limitations of the Gospels, the Genealogy of Matthew, St. John and the Earlier Gospels, the argument touching the agreements and differences, the omissions and additions of the several writers, the special affinities and correspondences between the four narratives, the special object with which each was written, the reasons why only two of the disciples out of the twelve should have left written records, and the reasons for the seemingly singular silence of the Epistles in regard to the active ministry, the verbal utterances and miracles of Christ, discovers close study, a firm grasp of the entire subject, and sound reasoning, even when, as he often does, he traverses the ground of probability and suggestion. The reader cannot help feeling often that the suggested explanation is, ten to one, the real explanation; because it is so perfectly natural, because in all ages men have, under the same circumstances, spoken and acted in the same way.

14. The Verbalist: A Manual devoted to Brief Discussion of the Right and the Wrong Use of Words, and to Some Other Matters of Interest to Those who would Speak and Write with Propriety. By Alfred Ayers. D. Appleton & Co. $1.00.

This is a very useful and informing little book, and, with its companion "The Orthoepist," should be always at hand with those who desire to write, speak and pronounce correctly. He who is not nice in these matters, on careful examination of these pages, will be surprised to find how often he is talking barbarous English, and that in cases where he had no suspicion of it. Twenty pages are given to the question whether such expressions as "the house is being built," "the mine is being worked," &c., are allowable. Equally full is the information regarding "Punctuation," the proper use of the comma, semicolon, dash, brackets, &c.; the distinction between "lay" and "lie," so often confounded by educated people; the use of "Prepositions," and of "Tenses";

Digitized by Google

"That," "Whose," the "Subjunctive Mood," "Diction," &c. See also what is said under the head of "Swosh."

15. *Whedon's Commentary.* Vol. V. The Book of Psalms. By Rev. F. G. Hibbard, D.D. Phillips & Hunt. 2.25.

Speaking of the difficulties of interpretation, Dr. Hibbard says very truly, "The obscurities lie, not in the text *per se*, as it was delivered to the native Hebrew, but in the accidents of antique and foreign modes of thought, idioms of language, differences of manners and customs, the occasions of writing, the time, place, circumstances, and design of the writer, as these come to the modern reader. The same may be said of any antique book written in language and with allusions foreign to us." This is strictly correct. And it may be said with equal truth, Let a book be written to-day by a Persian for Persians, and it would contain innumerable words and phrases, allusions to Persian history, persons and places, mention of customs and practices, social manners and morals, domestic utensils, commercial transactions, political conditions. proverbs. &c., needing no explanation to the Persian reader, but which would be wholly unintelligible to us without some information outside the book itself.

And this is the reason for the existence of such works as this commentary, which aims to supply the knowledge needed for a right understanding of the Psalms. So far as its historical and critical matter goes, the book, like most of its predecessors, is marked by learning, thoroughness and good judgment; but for the doctrinal treatment we cannot say as much. The author finds everywhere Messianic prophecies or allusions, descriptions and anticipations of the future Church of Christ; and he sees clearly abundant revelations of a general judgment and future endless punishment, where we are so blind that we see none at all. Of course we know that the book is written from the Methodist point of view, and do not expect to find any argument for Universalism in it; but we do not therefore expect a commentator to be forever straining a point in defence of his own creed, and continually reading his own beliefs or wishes into the text. For justifications of this remark we refer to the comments on Psalms xxxvii. and lxxiii., specially on the phrase "the end."

16. The Holy Bible according to the Authorized Version. With an Explanatory and Critical Commentary and a Revision of the Translation, by Bishops and Other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by F. C. Cook, Canon of Exeter. Vol. IV. of N. T. *Hebrews — Revelations.* Charles Scribner's Sons. $5 00.

This is the concluding volume of *The Bible Commentary*, begun ten years ago with the object of making available to students of the Scriptures and ordinary lay readers the accumulated treasures of modern antiquarian and philological research — the light they throw upon the origin and history of the sacred books, the corrections of the text they render necessary, and the elucidations of its meaning they afford.

The main purpose has been simply to furnish the reader the necessary materials for understanding the text, and to spare him the task of comparing conflicting views. The contributors are in every case men who have made special investigations in some department of Biblical learning, and have been chosen for their special fitness. More than forty of the best English scholars have united to make this Commentary scholarly, instructive, and helpful to the average reader; and, aside from the

Digitized by Google

doctrinal and ecclesiastical matter, they have succeeded to a remarkable degree. The critical matter is of a high order, and the historical contributions touching the *Textus Receptus*, the sources of its errors, and the materials for their correction, as well as what respects the political and religious events of the times, are important to the right understanding of the record. As we have often said before, the most valuable, and to us most interesting, portions of the entire work, are the Introductions and Critical Notes appended to the several chapters, which are prepared with great care and conscientious fidelity. The Introduction to Revelations fills ninety pages, and that portion relating to the date of the book shows research, eminent ability, and ingenious argument; and, though we dissent from its conclusions, it seems to demand some notice from those who affirm that the book was written before the destruction of Jerusalem.

Some of the doctrinal texts are liberally interpreted. The First Resurrection is moral and spiritual, so is the "sin unto death; the destruction of the heavens and the earth by fire in 2 Pet. iii. is literal, so is the preaching of Christ to "the spirits in prison," *Hades;* John v. 7, the three witnesses, is rejected, &c. Regarding the mooted question whether the apostles expected the coming of Christ and the end of the world in their own time, there seems a singular inconsistency very confusing to the ordinary reader. On 1 Pet. i. 5, Canon Cook says:

"Whether St. Peter and the other apostles believed that the last time was close at hand according to our ordinary notions is quite uncertain, nor should we attach weight to the arguments of commentators who always adopt that interpretation of Scripture which is most unfavorable to the inspiration of the sacred writers. The words '*ready* to be revealed' prove absolutely nothing."

This is rather hard on his associate, Dr. Lumby, who says, in his Introduction to 2 Peter,

"The writer of both epistles (of Peter) expected that the end of the world was near." and again on 2 Peter iii. 3, "The expression *last days* was used by the O. T. writers to signify the end of that dispensation. In the N. T. it occurs of the coming of Christ in the flesh: 'Christ, who in these *last times* was made manifest for you.' 1 Peter i. 20. But especially was the phrase employed after the Ascension to signify the, *no doubt soon expected*, return of Christ to judgment. And there can be little question that these Apostles, St. Peter and St. Jude, expected the second coming *would not be long delayed*."

17. *American Statesmen.* John Quincy Adams. By John T. Morse, Jr. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1 25.

We have only room, at the last moment, to announce this first volume of a series of Biographies of men who have figured prominently in the political history of our country, to be published under the above general title. In our next we shall give fitting space to this record of one of our ablest Statesmen, and most heroic and unselfish patriots. It will be followed with biographies of Alexander Hamilton, John C. Calhoun, Andrew Jackson, John Randolph, Henry Clay, Patrick Henry, &c.

The object of the series is not to give merely a number of unconnected narratives of men in American political life, but to produce books which shall, when taken together, indicate the lines of political thought and development in American history, books embodying in compact form the result of extensive study of the many and diverse influences which have combined to shape the political history of our country.

This volume is a beautiful specimen of bookmaking, and a delight to the weary eye.

Digitized by Google

BOOK NOTES.

The Life of Christ according to the Gospel of Mark. Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 15 cts. It has the King James version, and the English Revised version, in small type, in two columns, on the left hand page; and on the opposite page the American Revised Version, thus giving the reader instant comparison of the three.

The Life of Edmund S. Janes, D.D., LL.D., late Senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Henry B. Ridgway, D.D. Phillips & Hunt. $1.50.

Methodist Year Book 1882. Phillips & Hunt. A wonderful record, the reading of which would open the eyes of our people, and discover to them what mighty results are posible from the smallest beginnings.

The Universalist Register with an Almanac, for 1882. This pamphlet ought to be in the house of every Universalist; and yet we are surprised, as we go to and fro, to find how many families know nothing of its interest, value and convenience. To know the name and P. O. address of every Minister of our Church in the United States and Canada; to know the number of our church edifices and their location and cost; of our Academies, Colleges and Theological Schools, their endowments, the names of the Professors, and the number and names of our Periodicals; brief Biographical Sketches of ministers deceased during the year, this number giving 18 such filling 21 pages — to know all these things and be able to answer the questions of those who do not, is surely worth 25 *cts.!* If writing this will induce all who read it to send for the work, we shall be glad.

History Primers. History of France. By Charlotte M. Yonge. D. Appleton & Co. 45 cts. An outline sketch of the most important political changes in France from the time of the Romanized Gauls to the close of the German invasion in 1871.

The Rhymester; or the Rules of Rhyme. A Guide to English Versification. With a Dictionary of Rhymes, an Examination of Classical Measures, and Comments upon Burlesque, Comic Verse, and Song Writing. By the late Tom Hood. Edited with Additions by Arthur Penn. D. Appleton & Co. $1.00.

James Abram Garfield. By George F. Hoar. Houghton, Miflin & Co. $1.00. This is the Eulogy delivered before the City Government of Worcester. The beautifully engraved likeness adds greatly to the value of this just and discriminating tribute to the character of one who won, and was worthy of, the love of our nation, and the respect of the world.

Ecclesiastes or the Preacher, with Notes and an Introduction. By E. H. Plumptre, D.D. Macmillan & Co. 1881. This little book, which forms one of the series of the Cambridge Bible for Schools, is a most admirable contribution to the critical study of one of the most enigmatical portions of the Old Testament. We have never seen a more perfect Commentary of the kind intended to be "popular." It is simple, and yet in the best seuse learned, abounding in illustrative quotations from classical authors, and entering into the discussion of critical questions in an intelligible and charming manner. The book is intended for students in theological schools, but we do not see how any clergyman can dispense with it. Q. C.

Sunday — 1881 — Pictures and Pages. For Young and Old. With upwards of 200 Illustrations by Eminent Artists E. P. Dutton & Co. This is an English work which has attained to great popularity, the annual sale being immense; and the American publishers have brought it out with the view of calling attention to it on this side the water. It is a very attractive, instructive, and perfectly safe book for the Family. The articles are mostly very short, numbering over three hundred, and always imparting knowledge or some useful lesson.

Bachelor Bluff: His Opinions, Sentiments, and disputations. By Oliver Bell Bunce. D. Appleton & Co. $1.00. Full of very sensible criticisms of the follies and isms of the day, especially of the current drivel regarding art, dress, poetry, summer pleasure-seeking, woman's privileges and rights; beside a large measure of common-sense touching modern fiction, home life, female employments, politics, nature, holidays, &c.

Digitized by Google

A GREAT SUCCESS!

THE NEW BOOK.

"TALKS ABOUT THE BIBLE, TO THE YOUNG FOLKS,"

By Rev. JOHN. G. ADAMS, D.D.

It is designed to acquaint our youth with the plain and unmistakable truths of the Gospel as held and taught by the Universalist Church; to answer clearly and candidly the questions which will always be coming up in the religious world until it is everywhere enlightened and blest with the truth of the primitive Gospel, "What do Universalists believe? and what will their Faith DO towards blessing and saving the world?" It is not a class or text book, but is intended to be, a plain instructor and an attractive companion of every youth seeking religious instruction and the religious life.

To plead its utility as an agent in our Christian work would be a waste of words. If we desire to save the rising generation from religious error and deadly unbelief, and establish their minds and hearts in the truth of the Gospel, the present seems a most befitting time to do all the active work we can in this direction.

The book contains eleven "Talks" or "Numbers" on the following topics:

1. GOD the Creator.
2. GOD Speaking in the Bible.
3. The Bible: What Has it Done?
4. Variety of Reading in the Bible.
5. How GOD Loved the World.
6. Heaven: What and Where it is.
7. Hell: What and Where it is.
8. What is Faith?
9. What is Salvation?
10. What after Death?
11. Remembrance of GOD in Youth.

The work is especially commended to the attention of our ministers, Sunday-school superintendents and teachers, parents, and all others who would promote the interests of our Church, and bless the youth looking to it for instruction, with the truth and life of our holy religion.

That the book may have the widest circulation, it will be sold at the low price of 50 *cents per copy.*

UNIVERSALIST PUBLISHING HOUSE,
PUBLISHERS,
16 BROMFIELD ST., BOSTON, MASS.

Digitized by Google

1882 NOW READY. 1882

THE UNIVERSALIST REGISTER

FOR 1882.

Edited by Mrs. C. L. F. Skinner.

The *Register* for 1882 is the Forty-Seventh consecutive issue of that periodical. It is well known as the only

STATISTICAL YEAR BOOK

of the Universalist Church. It contains the facts and figures of our Church and Educational work in compact and convenient form. Among the special features are the following:

Astronomical Tables and Calendar,
Statistics of State Conventions and Associations,
General Convention and its Funds,
Record of Dedications, Ordinations,
Installations, Periodicals, &c.

Churches and Ministers by States,
Alphabetical List of Ministers,
Our Colleges and Academies,
Ministerial Obituary for 1881.

The above features make the *Register* a complete Hand-Book for every Universalist family, and all who are interested in the statistics of the Church will find in its pages much valuable information not easily accessible elsewhere.

The *Register* contains one hundred closely printed pages, including a tabular statement giving the condition of the Church in the United States from 1877 to 1882.

Price 25 cents single copy; a liberal discount by the dozen or hundred.

Address

UNIVERSALIST PUBLISHING HOUSE,

Digitized by Google

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY—IN JANUARY, APRIL, JULY, AND OCTOBER,
Terms—$3.00 per year—in advance.

JUN 23 1882

THE UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY.

CAMBRIDGE HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY MASS.

JULY, 1882.

THOMAS B. THAYER, D.D., EDITOR.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

ART. XV. ST. THOMAS AQUINAS AND THE FUTURE LIFE. . 261
Rev. S. S. Hebberd.
ART. XVI. THE DIVINE RESPONSIBILITY, ... 279
Rev. C. W. Biddle.
ART. XVII. THEORIES OF SKEPTICISM — ATHEISM, . . . 285
Wm. Tucker, D. D.
ART. XIX. HUMAN DESTINY A VITAL QUESTION, . . . 299
Rev. Varnum Lincoln.
ART. XX. THE PURITANS AND THE QUAKERS, . . . 311
Leo R. Lewis.
ART. XXI. THE RESTORATION OF HUMANITY, . . . 328
Rev. G. M. Harmon.
ART. XXII. "THE CELESTIAL EARTH" OF THE ANCIENTS. . 339
Rev. O D. Miller.

GENERAL REVIEW, ... 357
"American Statesmen"—John Quincy Adams—Jewish Beliefs Regarding Future Punishments—Andover and its Creed—Religious World.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE, ... 380
Dexter's True Story of John Smyth, The Se Baptist, &c.—Huxley's Science and Culture—*International Scientific Series;* Luys' "The Brain and its Functions"—Pitman's European Breezes—Oswald's Physical Education, or the Health Laws of Nature—Schaff's International Revision Commentary—Tiffany's Review of Ingersoll's "What Shall I Do to be Saved?" McCollester's After-Thoughts of Foreign Travel—Keary's Outlines of Primitive Belief—Bigelow's Molinos, The Quietist—Phelps's Men and Books—*International Scientific Series*—Vignoli's Myth and Science—Schodde's Book of Enoch. *Book Notes* on the "Art Amateur;" "American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal," Stanley's "Westminster Sermons," "Our Indian Question."

BOSTON:
UNIVERSALIST PUBLISHING HOUSE,
16 BROMFIELD STREET.

Digitized by Google

NEW EDITION.

"THE CREATION

AND THE

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS OF SOCIETY."

By J. H. CHAPIN, Ph,D.

CONTENTS.

1. Primeval Chaos.— 2. Light.— 3. The Firmament.— 4. Plant Life.— 5. Animal Life.— 6. Reading the Record in the Rocks.— 7. Man.— 8. Beginning of Civilization, Cain and Abel.— 9. Failure of Primeval Society, the Deluge.— 10. Diversity of Tongues, Tower of Babel.— 11. Antiquity of Man.— 12. Ancient Civilization.

WHAT IS SAID OF IT.

"This work, for the general reader, is the best we have ever read. It treats of the creation of the universe in a common-sense manner, and in language which can be understood by the reading public. The book is an excellent one — a valuable contribution to the literature of the world."— *Ann Harbor Courier.*

"The writer deals with two questions that for some years past have excited wide-spread discussion in theological and scientific circles. He treats them with great fairness, and with a clearness and simplicity of style most refreshing and commendable. While not agreeing with the author *in toto*, we can yet, as a whole, heartily commend the work as a conclusive answer to much of the skepticism of the day. His facts have been gathered with care and industry, and his theories are neither notions nor vagaries. His book is excellent. We trust it may find many readers."— *Episcopal Register*, (*Baltimore*).

"I have lately read every word of this book, and to some chapters I have given a second reading, and I am glad to make record in this public way of my gratitude to the author. It seems to me to be a book much needed by that large class of people, of which I am one, who make no specialty of science, but who aspire to keep pace with the latest conclusions of the wise ones in matters of this sort. The author makes it appear that the whole plan and process are theistic, and hence he has made a contribution to faith as well as to knowledge. The three chapters, 'The Vegetable Kingdom,' 'Animal Life,' and 'Reading the Geological Record,' share all the interest of a romance, and more here than elsewhere the muse seems to have descended on the writer. But all through the book the style is fresh and pleasing. There is no confusion in the thought of the author, and so there can be none in the mind of the reader. This gives to the work a special value to the general reader, and fits it for the ordinary fireside."— REV. DR. ELLIS, *Cincinnati.*

"This book is a careful scientific review of the consecutive process of the creation, from the beginning to the appearance of man upon the earth. The subject of course is not new, but is very ably and interestingly treated." — *Boston Transcript.*

"The treatment is fresh, vigorous, clear and rational."—*Star and Covenant*, (*Chicago*).

Price, $1.75 postage paid. For sale by

UNIVERSALIST PUBLISHING HOUSE.

Digitized by Google

ARTICLE XV.

St. Thomas Aquinas and the Future Life.

"A time may be coming," says Mr. Maurice, "when it will be possible to derive more good from Aquinas than any age has owed to him. Protestant Europe may even yet do him a justice which cannot be done him by those who sit at his feet and receive his words as those of one who understood all mysteries and all knowledge." It must be confessed that this hope does not, at present, seem very near to realization. Our age, with all its pretensions to catholicity of thought and breadth of wisdom, has not yet reached the point where it could properly appreciate the great leader of human thought in the Middle Ages. In the perspective of thought, he stands farther removed from us than Aristotle or even Plato and the idealists of Alexandria. His mental methods are the converse of ours. We have but little sympathy with his intellectual aims, and still less with the way in which he sought to attain them. Not in a moment shall we be enabled to do the justice which Mr. Maurice prophesies to a life engrossed with questionings, interests and mental tendencies so entirely different from ours that it almost seems a life passed in another world.

We are not so rash as to attempt, in these few pages, a summary reversal of the common opinions concerning the philosophy and theology of Aquinas. In fact, we shall not pretend to deal with his system of thought as a whole, but only with a single feature of it — his doctrine of a future life. But even within these narrower lines, we shall have to do no little amount of pioneering work. The current estimate of the mediæval doctrine of futurity will have to be modified at almost every point. Dwelling as it does almost exclusively upon the grossest and most exaggerated features, the mere superstitious adjuncts of that doctrine, it will be found to be something very different from the conception of futurity which

Digitized by Google

was really believed in by the clearest, the calmest, the most thoroughly representative thinker of the Middle Ages.

"The mediæval belief in a future life," asserts a recent writer,[1] and therein he but follows the common opinion of our day, "was practically concentrated for the most part around the ideas of Satan, purgatory, the last judgment, hell. The faith in Christ, God, heaven, was much rarer and less influential." All that we deny. It is a caricature, not a description of mediæval eschatology. Superstitions, the most grotesque and the most appalling, did undoubtedly gather around the mediæval faith in futurity. The origin of this superstitious growth we shall understand more fully before we have concluded; we shall see that even here Christian faith did not act freely and from its own impulses, but rather yielded to the external pressure of circumstances. For the present, however, we simply recognize these bad elements in the mediæval belief, without making any effort to palliate or defend them. But we deny that they form the core, the essence of that belief. Much less did they overshadow the brighter side of faith, making of it a pale, infrequent vision, with little power over the thought and life of the Middle Ages.

Such an accusation can be made with far greater justice against more modern forms of theology, against Calvinism, against the Puritanism of New England as it was a century or two ago. Looking at the Puritan conception of a future life we see what is always to be seen when we confront a faith which has outlived its days of usefulness and is holding on by dint of mere conservatism and bigotry; the bad elements in the faith have become intensified, the good have been overshadowed and stripped of their power. It was the Puritan heaven that became so bald and inane a vision — a celestial meeting-house not over-crowded with saints who were dressed in white robes and engaged in an eternal psalmody. It was the Puritan hell, its heat intensified and its terrors unrelieved by any of those more merciful provisions which Catholic charity had suggested — that became the over-shadowing thought

[1] Alger. *Doctrine of a Future Life.* 415.

Digitized by Google

of every believer, eclipsing all gayety, and imparting to religion an aspect gloomier and more chilling than it had ever before worn in the history of Christendom. But the Calvinism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not the faith of Aquinas, nor of those mediæval centuries of which he was confessedly the best representative. Similar superstitions might have been in vogue; but, as we hope to show, they did not occupy the same place in religious thought, nor exert the same over-shadowing influence over religious life.

How comes it, then, some one will ask, that mediæval faith is so grossly caricatured? Why does common opinion insist upon painting it in such gloomy and forbidding colors? We answer that the current misconception is very largely due to the influence of mediæval art.

The Art of the Middle Ages was thoroughly and fundamentally religious; it drew its inspiration and gathered its ideals from the treasures of Christian faith. But while art in the service of religion accomplishes much good, it also works much evil. It materializes the spiritual; it aggrandizes everything sensuous, at the expense of the purer and more exalted, but less picturable conceptions of religion. We see this very plainly in the history of the polytheistic religions of antiquity, which soon lost sight of their deepest meanings under the influence of a brilliant but sensuous art. To guard against this danger, religions of the Puritanic type — religions, like Judaism, Mahometanism, Calvinism, that wish to petrify rather than to grow — have always shown an instinctive jealousy of the æsthetic sentiment, have discountenanced it, and so far as possible banished it from their domain.

But Mediæval religion, less thrifty, called all the resources of art to its service and paid the inevitable price for that brilliant but costly aid. The sensuous side of religion was exalted, the spiritual depressed and obscured. The artists made prominent only that which could minister to artistic effects. The church walls flamed with frescoes of hell and the judgment day. Music re-echoed the wails of the damned in countless strains like those of the *Dies Iræ*. Poetry revelled in

Digitized by Google

wierd, sombre dreams of the Inferno. Thus the fiery colors of perdition meet us everywhere, and we hastily assume that they form the sum and substance of mediæval faith. It never occurs to us to consult the quiet pages of men like Aquinas, who stand forth as the acknowledged representatives, not of the artistic extravagances and inflamed imagination, but of the sober thought and deepest wisdom of their times.

1. To understand what Aquinas and his contemporaries really thought concerning future retribution, it is first necessary to understand what they thought concerning future rewards; for, with them the two conceptions were more radically connected than in any other religion of the world. We wish that time permitted us to give a full exposition of that doctrine of ultimate felicity to which Aquinas has devoted so many chapters of subtile inquiry and argument. But we must be content with the merest outlines. He begins with an elaborate argument extending through ten chapters,[2] to show that ultimate felicity, even after the soul has been reunited with the body in the resurrection, cannot consist in sensual enjoyments, in honors, riches, glory, or any pleasure like those of our earthly estate. By this, he tersely says, are cluded the fables of the Jews and the Mahometans, *qui retributiones justorum in prædictis voluptatibus ponunt.*[3] True felicity, he goes on to prove, can consist only in the contemplation of truth, that sublime activity of the soul to which all other things are designed to minister.[4]

But even here he is careful to guard against errors which have always proved most destructive in religious history. The happiness of eternity is not that of the Brahmin mystic forever absorbed in fruitless reveries. The ultimate knowledge is not like the knowledge of this life, gained through the demonstrations of logic or the researches of science. Essentially it is the knowledge of God; but it is not a knowledge like that which comes intuitively to all mortals,[5] nor that which is gained through the argumentation of philosophers,[6] nor even

[2] Aquinas. *Summa Philosophica.* Parma. 1855, Vol. 2, p. 89-104.
[3] Ibid, p. 86. [4] Ibid, p. 96. [5] Ibid, p. 97. [6] Ibid, 99.

Digitized by Google

that which is acquired through religious faith.[7] In a word, it is the beatific vision, a contemplation of God, not as He is manifested in created things, but of God in His essential nature as we see Him face to face.[8] This vision of the divine essence is too exalted to be attained by the unaided exercise of the highest reason, it comes only as the free gift of divine grace. Thereby there is imparted the transcendent light of glory — the mysterious *lumen gloriae* through which the soul attains to a certain similitude with the divine nature, and is enabled to see Him as He is.[9] Participation in this divine vision is thus possible for all, despite any inferiority of nature.[10] Nevertheless there are different grades of participation according as the soul is more or less assimilated in its nature unto God.[11]

Such is the mediæval theory of future happiness, as it is unfolded by Aquinas. We believe it to be the loftiest conception of immortality, the one most alluring at once to the pure heart and the truth-seeking intellect, that has ever been devised by any of the great religions of the world. Other religions have been as deeply engrossed in the contemplation of futurity; but in comparison with this how paltry their promises. "Buddhism," we are told,[12] "allured the multitude by the grandeur of its recompenses"; but its recompenses ended with the dead calm, the eternal silence and lethargy of Nirvana's nothingness. Mahomet aroused his followers with promises of Paradise, but it was a paradise of bright-eyed houris and sensual excess. The Calvinism of Jonathan Edwards had something of heaven amid an almost immeasurable expanse of hell; but it was a heaven where nasal psalmody alternated eternally with contemplation of the torments of the damned in the flames. Surely we can afford do to some honor to the religion which promised to its children this transcendent vision of God — a vision which carried the intellect into the depths

[7] Ibid, 102.

[8] Ibid, p. 147. But the figure of St. Paul, as Aquinas is careful to show, is not to be taken in any corporeal sense. [9] Ibid, p. 149. [9] Ibid, p. 150.

[10] Ibid, 161. [11] Ibid, 163. [12] Burnouf. *Hist. Buddhisme*, I., 199.

Digitized by Google

of all mysteries and thrilled the heart with the pulsations of all love.

What now is Aquinas' doctrine of retribution? It is something very different from what will be supposed by those who have gained their ideas of mediæval theology from the study of Dante's poetry or Michael Angelo's frescoes. The essence of retribution does not consist in penal fire or prison walls. It does not consist in positive suffering of any kind. It is, on the contrary, a negation — the privation of the highest bliss, the withdrawal of the light of glory, the eternal loss of the vision of God. This negative state of privation, of darkness, ignorance and eternal vacuity, forms the essence of future punishment.

True, Aquinas does not deny those material elements in retribution upon which the painters driven by the exigencies of their art dwelt so exclusively and with such startling effect. But this sensible punishment — the *poena sensus* of Aquinas is secondary, even exceptional. At least so Oischinger concludes, who has made a very profound and exhaustive study of Aquinas' theology; the peculiar *poena damni*, the privation of the divine vision and its glories is not merely the only essential, but also the only universal and always present element in retribution.[13] According to this, all that could be positively affirmed concerning the doom of any impenitent soul was that it had fallen short of the true end of existence, had been excluded from the highest glories and privileges of eternity. The frescoes on the church-walls were intimations of what might happen, but not always must. In dealing with theology, we must be content with very moderate concessions; and this theory of hell as a privation is certainly an improvement upon the theology of New England during the last century.

Of similar import is the chapter which Aquinas devotes to the *poena sensus* or sensible punishment. As disobedience of physical laws entails not only loss of physical health and vigor, but also positive pain, so, he says,[14] disobedience of the spirit-

[13] Oeschinger. *Die Spec. Theologie des Aquin.* S, 334. [14] *Summa Phil.* II. 443.

Digitized by Google

ual laws entails not only the privation of spiritual health but also positive suffering. Here again the essence of retribution is negative, while penal sufferings have become something adventitious, secondary and — following the analogy of the pains of disease — not always present. And this explanation from the analogy of disease is about all that Aquinas has to offer upon the materialistic superstitions which so thoroughly engrossed the aspiring artists who were striving after artistic effects. Plainly his inmost thought was not theirs. It was more nearly in accord, we believe, with the thought of Dr. Bushnell, Dr. Frederic Hedge, and other recent thinkers who have attempted to soften the rigors without abandoning the principles of Calvinistic eschatology. The essence of retribution is privation, vacuity, the loss of spiritual power and the gradual sinking down of the soul towards the zero of existence. We believe that the great master of scholastic theology would not very widely dissent from the doctrine, although possibly demurring at the rhetoric of Dr. Bushnell when he says that "the true conception of punishment is that the souls of the lost will forever continue in being, spinning along the lengths of mediocrity, and having their eternity as the protracted opportunity of their moral insignificance and hopelessness. Their only suffering that is left is that of a nature tapering down to a diminished grade of feeling or abject continuity of consciousness that is only the more desolate that it cannot utterly[15] die."

It seems, then, that the most "advanced" schools of orthodoxy and even some of heretical tendences, have hardly succeeded in passing the point that was reached centuries ago by the benighted and derided theologians of the Middle Ages.

II. We turn, secondly, to the argument by which St. Thomas Aquinas seeks to show the righteousness and justice of endless punishment. When one recalls the Calvinistic teaching of the last two or three centuries he feels that its doctrine of future torment is made to assume a deeper shade of ferocity by the very arguments that were devised for its justification. It

[15] *Vicarious Sacrifice.* 337.

Digitized by Google

is bad enough to teach the doctrine of endless suffering in any form. But it betrays a still stonier hardness of heart to coolly argue that it is just and right for God to eternally torment His creatures, simply because He is their Creator and Sovereign. The Calvinistic argument offered no relief to the outraged sentiment of justice; it merely painted God in such black colors as deepened the already deep enough gloom of eternity. To attempt to justify endless punishment in that way was to pile an Ossa of insult upon that illimitable Pelion of injury under which lost souls lie and groan.

But the argument from Divine Sovereignty was so palpably monstrous that it never gave quite perfect satisfaction even to those who used it; and hence many attempts were made to supplement it by other defences which should save the Calvinistic eschatology without impugning either the justice of God or the veracity of our moral consciousness. For the most widely current of these defences, we are indebted, it would seem, to Leibnitz. It hinges upon the plea that sin against God is infinite in its nature, and therefore justly incurs an infinite punishment. Many, however, of those who are engaged in the arduous task of liberalizing the old orthodoxy, have discovered with Dr. Bushnell that this argument is nothing more than a mere play upon words; and hence it, in its turn, is being replaced by a more advanced form of defence. This third form of justification is founded upon the conception of endless sin entailing endless punishment as its necessary and righteous consequence. No attempt seems to be made, if we except the vagaries of Mr. Joseph Cook, to establish the premise that souls will sin through all eternity. The tendency seems to be to accept this premise as a good working theory — as a plausible hypothesis that will satisfactorily explain the hard facts of endless torment.

Now here are three separate justifications of endless punishment each in vogue at some time during the last three centuries. Which of these is most akin to the teaching of Aquinas when he sets himself to the task of defending so defenceless a doctrine?

Digitized by Google

Not the first, we are glad to say. Aquinas, in common with most Catholic theologians since the days of Gottschalk, had no fondness for the doctrine of double predestination, to hell as well as heaven. Least of all would he have ventured upon the Calvinistic hardihood of making predestination the corner-stone of his doctrine of futurity. Nor do we find any trace of the second justification with its verbal play about the infinite nature of sin. The scholastic theologians were great players with words; but their verbal subtleties almost always had a meaning behind them, if not always a true, at least a deep meaning, and one imbedded in a philosophy which does not suffer greatly in comparison with the materialistic wisdom of our modern times. It would never have occurred to Aquinas that the sin of a finite being was infinite merely because it was a sin against an Infinite Ruler, because it might possibly begin an infinite series of consequences. It is rather the third plea — the one on which the more liberal school of orthodoxy seems just now to be priding itself as a new theological discovery of its own — that is nearest akin to the defence which Aquinas put forth, more than six centuries ago, in behalf of the mediæval doctrine of retribution. So true it is that those who cling to fundamental error can make no true advance; however modernized their theories may appear to themselves, they are only marching in the front of a procession which revolves in a circle so nearly perfect that those in the van are nearest to those in the rear.

But in all this we are doing but scanty justice to Aquinas. It is true that he is in accord with Mr. Cook and modern orthodoxy in justifying endless punishment upon the ground of endless sinning. He asserts distinctly that it would be iniquitous to eternally punish a sinner, if at any time he should desist from sinning.[16] But when we come to details we find a marked difference between the mediæval and the modern argument. For Aquinas does not rest his defence of endless punishment upon an hypothesis which he does not attempt to prove; nor in the attempt to prove it does he content himself

[16] *Summa Phil.* III. 340.

Digitized by Google

with a mere froth of declamation. But with a wonderful subtlety of thought and power of analysis, he sets himself to the hard task of showing how the damned, without losing their moral freedom, must necessarily become fixed in an unalterable devotion to evil.

The argument from the power of habit, which seems to form the chief reliance of modernized orthodoxy, was not likely to gain much attention from a thinker like Aquinas. Such an argument had evidently been before his mind, but only to be dismissed peremptorily.[17] He says expressly that although the power of habit is intensified by long continuance, it never becomes invincible. Evil habits that have hardened into the rigidity of iron are often broken and thrown off by a desperate resolve or even by a change of circumstances. There is no ground for asserting the immutability of habit either in this life or the future.

How, then, does Aquinas seek to establish the immutability of the will in its devotion to either good or evil during the future life? We almost despair of translating the idioms of mediæval speculation into language intelligible to modern readers; but we will at least make the attempt.

The ground-work upon which Aquinas rests his argument is, that in this life we know things not in themselves, but in their changing manifestations and accidents. The good behold and desire not ultimate good in its essence, but that which manifests the good and tends toward it. The wicked behold and desire evil tendencies, not evil in its essence. But in the spiritual life, we see things in themselves. The soul which during its earthly existence has been tending towards the good, now finds the ultimate essential good and rests in it quiescently. The soul which has been tending towards evil, reaches also its ultimate end and rests in an eternal aversion to the good and affinity for pure, essential evil. There is no further possibility of any mutation of the will. For the will is no longer dealing with accidents, manifestations, or tendencies which are mutable, so that evil is often turned into good;

[17] Ibid. 842.

Digitized by Google

it is engrossed with pure essential evil which is forever immutable.[18]

This reasoning, even if we have made it intelligible, will hardly seem a perfect demonstration. Aquinas himself takes away the very base of his argument when in another and later treatise he teaches that the incorporeal intellect only desires the good or what seems to be good.[19] But such as it is, we commend this mediæval argument to the careful study of those who seem just now to be eagerly seeking after some proof of the endless continuity of the soul in evil.

Before dismissing this part of our subject, we wish to notice the position of Aquinas when he comes to directly confront the doctrine of Universalism.[20] The belief that punishments will have an end, he says, springs from the philosophical theory that all punishments are purgatorial or remedial. In opposition to this theory Aquinas has little to say. He readily admits that all punishment inflicted by God must have a beneficent purpose. God does not delight in suffering for its own sake; and therefore future retribution cannot be vindictive. Admitting this Aquinas can find no reason for the endlessness of punishment save that a certain divine order and proportion must be maintained between the bliss of the righteous and the doom of the wicked. But as if little satisfied with this he says further; still even if we concede that punishment can have no object except the removal of sin, it may, nevertheless be of endless duration. The guilty may be forever shut up by themselves for the advantage of the righteous; they may be excluded from heaven in order that the blest may always be preserved from the contagion of their presence.

This argument will seem like an old acquaintance to most of our readers; nor do we hardly need to note that it makes no pretense of justifying endless punishment in its positive form as the infliction of actual suffering upon the lost. Those who are acquainted with Aquinas' habits of thought will not be apt to explain this omission as a mere oversight. The true

[18] Ibid 337–343. [19] *De Substantiis Separatis.* Cap XIX.

[20] *Summa Phil.* II. 441, *seq.*

Digitized by Google

explanation is that the popular and artistic idea of punishment as positive suffering is something incidental and even extraneous to the theory of retribution which was really held by the great master of mediæval theology. It is something for the defence of which he gives himself but little solicitude; he leaves it, indeed, so far as possible, to the care of poets, painters and popular superstition. The thought that lay closest to his heart and the one which he never tires of defending is, that punishment in its essential and universal form is negative; it consists in an eternal exclusion from the vision of God, in the blank vacuity of a soul turned away from the true end of its existence, and wasting all its energies amidst the everlasting void and nothingness of evil. For we must not forget that evil, according to the fundamental principles of Aquinas' theology, is not positive, but a mere negation.[21]

Such, then, is the conception of future retribution as it appeared not to painters and poets dealing with sensuous images and striving after artistic effects, but to the sober thought of the greatest and most authoritative of mediæval theologians. We may regard it as a fair reflection of what was then thought upon this subject by those who gave themselves the trouble of thinking at all. For Aquinas is the standard of mediæval orthodoxy. He was no Abelard rioting in rash speculations and eternally striving to astound and bewilder the sober judgment of his cotemporaries. With a wonderful subtility and yet a perfect sobriety of thought, he spake authoritatively to an age that had been taught, before all else, to hearken to the voice of authority and to repose placidly upon its deliverances. To that age he was, indeed, "the angelical doctor," a pure intelligence, without passion and almost without the liability to err.

III. We wish to consider, thirdly, the influence that these conceptions of futurity held by Aquinas and his cotemporaries had upon the moral and social life of the age. And here our interest is not merely speculative and critical, but thoroughly practical. For a long time, the mediæval doctrine of a future

[21] Ibid I., 182–7. II. 432, etc.

Digitized by Google

life has been made one of the chief accusations against the Christian religion. Christianity, we have been told again and again, fostered in the heart of the Middle Ages a cowering and debasing engrossment with the affairs of another world. It spread an epidemic of superstition throughout all Western Europe. By dwelling incessantly upon the torments of hell and the malignity of God, it familiarized men with the most odious forms of cruelty; it stifled the gentler sentiments of human nature; it bred an indifference to suffering, a ferocity which turned the Middle Ages into one long carnival of blood, torture, and relentless barbarism. In a word, if one-half is true of what has been told by Lecky and others in this regard,[22] then the Christian religion has been guilty of a crime against humanity which never can be atoned for by any splendor of its achievements.

But it is not true. The ferocity of which Mr. Lecky complains was an inheritance from Paganism, not the dowry of Christianity.

Two streams of life united to form the mediæval current: the one, that of the old Roman civilization, the other, the new blood of the Germanic races. Concerning the first, we know that Roman life, despite the brilliancy of its military achievements and its material progress, had never been able to cast from its veins the cruel and merciless instincts of savagery. The tenderer feelings of pity and sympathy have by long centuries of Christian training been so thoroughly instilled into the modern breast, that we can hardly help regarding them as natural impulses of the human heart. But in reality the savage, like the boy, is cruel by instinct; he loves cruelty for its own sake. It would seem to him unmanly to give way to the sentiment of pity. The sight of blood or the excitement of passion arouses within him a phrensy, a thirst which can be satisfied only by the infliction of pain and suffering.

If there were no other proofs, the popular amusements of the imperial city would be sufficient to show that this tigerish impulse of the primitive man yet ran as hotly as ever through

[22] Lecky. *History of Rationalism.* I. 315.

Digitized by Google

the veins of these Roman people. The Roman ampitheatres were the tokens of a barbaric survival. They reveal a life which still held beneath its glittering surface that most terrible vice of savage animality, the love of cruelty for its own sake.

Turning now to Germanic life we are immediately confronted by romantic pictures that have been painted by idealists rather than historians. Especially those who wished to belittle Christianity, have been eager to ascribe the loftiest of virtues to these Northern barbarians—a work which has permitted of the freest invention because so little is historically known about them. But what little is really known goes to show, as Guizot has abundantly proved,[28] that the German savage differed in no material respect from other savages. The same institutions, the same moral tendencies, the same ferocity of manners even down to the detail of scalping their enemies — prevailed among these denizens of the ancient European forests as among our own North American Indians. The Indian, merciless malignant, torturing his prisoners by slow fires for the mere pleasure of listening to their cries of agony, is the modern type of that Germanic savagery upon which Christianity had to work its redemptive work during the Middle Ages.

What now did Christianity accomplish laboring on this raw material of a cruel barbarism? We might, if time permitted us, go into details and enumerate the notable results that were achieved. We might show how Christianity, by patient efforts prolonged through centuries finally succeeded in abolishing slavery, that system in which the cruelty of Roman civilization found its freeest vent and most odious development. Or turning to war,—that institution in which the ferocity of uncivilized races like the ancient Germans finds its chief outlet—we might show Christianity substituting for the treachery, the torture, the stealthy slaughter of savage warfare, that intense sentiment of honor, of courtesy even towards one's enemies, of sympathy for the distressed

[28] Guizot. *History of Civilization.* II. 156.

Digitized by Google

and unfortunate, which was embodied in the creation of Mediæval chivalry. We might, indeed, occupy many pages in the description of the ameliorating influence which Christian charity brought to bear upon the fierce temper of Roman civilization and Germanic barbarism. But these matters have been often gone over by others, and we prefer to rest our argument upon a newer and broader basis.

We are not content to say that Christianity, in a hundred ways, softened the harsh, cruel tendencies of ancient European life. It went further than that. It struck at the very root of that barbarous impulse which was native to the childhood of the race and which survived in full vigor amidst the brightest forms of ancient civilization. It extirpated from the great mass of Mediæval life that essence of barbarism—the love of cruelty for its own sake. We are not in the least unmindful of what has been so eagerly urged by Lecky and his co-workers—the judicial torture, the inquisitorial fires, the rack, the thumb-screw and all the horrid enginery of torture in use during the Middle Ages. We extenuate nothing. But we assert, what no sensible man will deny, that this cruel machinery was devised and used for purposes that were not cruel, however mistaken and short sighted they might have been. The administration nf justice, the detection and prevention of crime, even the maintenance of religious truth among the people these are not unholy purposes; although it was a terrible mistake, a savage error to suppose that these righteous ends could be subserved by judicial tortures or inquisitorial fires. That such barbarous methods could be used even for the best of purposes is a proof that the work of Christianity was uot yet ended; that the new gospel of charity had not yet wholly subdued and cast out the savage tendencies of European life. But the work was begun. There is a vast difference between the love of cruelty for its own sake, and the cruelty which a mistaken zeal permits because it believes that these harsh methods are necessary for the attainment of some righteous end; and that difference precisely measures what Christianity during the Middle Ages

Digitized by Google

had accomplished in its work of subduing the ancient savagery of European life.

Mr. Lecky, then, is wholly wrong. Christianity did not, either by its doctrines of a future life or in any other way, intensify the ferocity of human nature. On the contrary, it rendered mankind in the Middle Ages more humane and merciful. It abolished slavery. It mitigated the ferocity of war by the institution of chivalry. It made humane provision for the helpless and suffering, the puny babe, the hopeless invalid, the aged, the deformed, all those children of misery in the treatment of whom Paganism showed itself always so pitiless and brutal. More than that, Christianity working in that radical way which forms the secret of its power, tore up by the very roots that instinctive love of cruelty for its own sake, which formed the very essence and life of barbarism.

The exact converse of the skeptical accusation is really true. It was the savagery still surviving in mediæval life that imparted its ferocity to the mediæval doctrine of futurity. As most of our readers have learned long ago the popular conceptions of hell and penal suffering were not original creations of the Middle Ages but were borrowed from the myths and fables of Paganism; they were so entirely alien from the genius of Christianity, that it required centuries of contact with heathen influence to authoritatively establish them in the creed of Christendom. But it is not so generally understood that these superstitions were not in harmony even with the fundamental principles of the mediæval belief in futurity; that they were something foisted upon it and loosely bound up with it by the surviving influence of barbarism. We trust that in these pages we have done something towards making this better understood. We have shown the great leader of Mediæval thought developing a theory of retribution which has no real affinity with the conceptions borrowed from Paganism that had been adopted by popular credulity and the artistic imagination. We have seen what little pains he took to adjust these extraneous conceptions to a theory which otherwise he has elaborated with the minutest care. Aquinas, in fact, in formally accepting these conceptions was merely

Digitized by Google

bowing to the authority of an established belief. They are incongruous with his system of theology at whatever point we may take it up.

Take for instance the chapter which Aquinas devotes to the question whether God can hate anything.[24] That question he answers with a decided and unqualified negative. We wish evil to whatever we hate, he says, but God wishes no evil and therefore can hate nothing. And so he proceeds with several other arguments, developed in the usual style of scholastic reasoning, to establish his proposition. There is no such thing, he concludes, as the literal hate or wrath of God; whenever such terms are found in the Scriptures they are only used metaphorically and that in a double sense. In one sense we are said to hate anything which we do not desire to exist; and so God is said to hate evil because from the necessity of His nature, He desires its non-existence. In another sense God is said to hate because he desires some higher good which cannot be attained without the privations of a lesser good; and thus we speak of Him as hating those things whose punishment he wills for the sake of some beneficent end. Thus the figurative hate or wrath of God is but another name for His love. The only passion that can literally subsist in the divine nature is that of love.

It was reserved for the Calvinistic reformers to accept these Scriptural declarations concerning the anger or wrath of God as literal truths, and to make them the very foundation of their theological system. Even the mild Melancthon could assert that God wills punishment for its own sake,[25] in direct opposition to the doctrine of Aquinas that there is no vindictive passion in the divine nature and no punishment divinely inflicted except for the sake of higher good. In this respect Calvinism was a reversion to Judaism which, as Aquinas has expressly said,[26] did not discriminate between the literal and metaphorical meanings of Scripture and thus came to ascribe such passions as anger and wrath to the God of love. How

[24] *Summa Phil.* I. 235, *seq.*

[25] Melancthon. *Ethica Doctrina.* Wittenberg. 1571. p. 54.

[26] *Summa Phil.* I. 226.

Digitized by Google

it happened that the Reformation took that retrograde step in theology we have attempted to explain in a former number of this *Review*,[27] and this is not the place to repeat that explanation. Suffice it that herein the great representative of mediæval thought stood much closer to the spirit of Christ, much farther away from a narrow Judaic literalism. According to the fundamental principles of his theology there is no passion in the divine nature save that of infinite, eternal love; and if in his doctrine of futurity there may be superstitions incongruous with this primary conception, they are to be ascribed to the influence of savage tendencies which still survived in European life. In one word his doctrine in its fundamental principles is purely Christian; but in its superstitious adjuncts it is a survival of Paganism.

And thus our criticism of the mediæval doctrine of futurity as presented by Aquinas draws to a close. We have cleared that doctrine from the false accusations which have been made against it by mere caricaturists, and especially by those who do not wish to recognize the grand achievements which Christianity has wrought during all the ages of its development. We have not defended the superstitions of mediæval belief; we have simply shown them as extraneous, incongruous elements foisted upon that belief by influences alien and hostile to the genius of the Christian religion. We can sweep away all these superstitions without marring the transcendent vision and the deep thought that, as we have seen, lay closest to the heart of Aquinas.

May there not be here a hint of what Universalism has yet to do? Thanks to the gentler sentiments which Christianity has at last fully developed within the human breast, we have forever cast aside the mediæval superstitions. But that done, may there not still remain in Aquinas something worth our remembering—something that will enrich our conception of futurity upon its positive side and make of it more than a mere negation of hell and endless sin. If that be so, Mr. Maurice's prophesy may yet be realized; we shall derive more good from Aquinas than any age has owed to him.

[27] *Universalist Quarterly Review.* Vol. XXXV., p. 424.

Digitized by Google

ARTICLE XVI.

The Divine Responsibility—Recent Statements.

THIS is an idea that seems just now to be forcing its way upon the attention of Evangelical theologians, and exciting no little discussion. The subject, although familiar enough to Universalists, and long made a ground of argument concerning human destiny, has quite generally been evaded by the supporters of the popular theology as beyond the reach of human reason. W. W. Patton D.D. of Howard University, has lately contributed two articles to this subject, and begins by showing that the theme is a legitimate one, which he is frank to confess has been disputed by the theologians of his school. They have looked upon the idea of God being in any wise responsible, as irreverent, inconsistent with the divine glory, against the majesty and supremacy of God and indicating his dependence upon his creatures. All of which he designates an inherited prejudice, the remnant of an antiquated conception, a false idea of the divine glory, a confusion of morals and mechanics, of the spiritual and material, of the law of love and the law of gravity, which he says is rapidly giving way to a more rational view.

He then proceeds to define what he means by the divine responsibility. God, it is true, is all-sufficient in himself, He is the ruler of the universe, the universe depends on him. But these statements do not cover the whole ground. What is the safeguard of the universe as to the exercise of supreme and boundless power? It can destroy as well as create; it can torture as well as bestow happiness. It is capable, as mere power, of quite opposite uses.

Dr. Patton then meets the case by saying that God is not mere power, is not simply an infinite will; but that he is also infinite reason, and that, with him, as with ourselves, reason is the proper and necessary guide of will. He further affirms that this divine reason like our own, (we being made in the divine image) includes the eternal, unchangeable and

Digitized by Google

imperative idea of right, the practical synonym of which is love, love being that which always, everywhere, and in all beings expresses the right, or sums up duty.

He thus reaches the conclusion that God is a moral agent and the highest of moral agents; that his reason recognizes the binding nature of love as moral law; that such being his eternal intuition of right, he freely and blissfully chooses love as the rule of his activity; that, where he creates rational, sensitive beings, by that very fact he puts himself voluntarily into a relation which calls upon him to act upon the principle of love, which gives them a right to expect that he will so act. And it is thus, that he makes God "responsible to his own reason, or moral sense, or conscience, and, at the same time, necessarily places himself under the observation and judgment of all rational beings, who, though dependent on his sustaining power, have been made, as it were, participators in his reason and capable of forming an opinion respecting his action and character. His manifested glory will then largely depend upon such a revelation of himself, in his works and providence, as shall show that infinite power is ruled by infinite love, that God is not merely irresponsible will."

From this view he draws certain important conclusions, as that it distinguishes clearly between physical and moral government; is consistent with intuitive truths, such as abstract right, which is practically the obligation of love; that it necessitates a divine moral character which perceives with infinite clearness what are the rights of all beings and freely and gladly conforms to them, recognizing and accepting its responsibility as the head of the universe which it has created; that it suggests a rational worship of the Creator, as just and true in all his ways.

How this view harmonizes with the word of God is next pointed out, in what the Bible says of the moral attributes of the Almighty, as where Peter affirms that God is a faithful creator, as where Abraham inquires, "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" as where Paul asks "Is God un-

Digitized by Google

righteous?" being plain implications of certain principles of justice, necessarily affirmed by the human reason, as eternally true and universally obligatory, with which we are compelled to compare the divine procedure in order to justify it.

The same view is sustained, whenever the Bible holds up God as the infinitely perfect example of holiness, regulating his own conduct by the same universal and unchangeable moral principles which he enjoins upon us and claims to be just, holy, righteous only as he can show that he conforms to them; that love sums up his character, as it ought also to sum up ours; and that sin will be killed out of the universe just as fast as moral beings believe these things. He finally shows how the divine responsibility is sanctioned by the Bible doctrine of a day of Judgment for, whatever theory is held of the methods and scenic arrangements of that event, it means that God will be able to appeal to a standard of moral action which all will recognize as inherently just and to which he will show that he has uniformly adhered.

What other vindication he asks could avail? If God should claim, he avers, (as some theologians unwisely, erroneously and without authority claim for him) that "he is under no moral obligation, that he has no responsibility as the Creator and Ruler of the universe, that mere power makes right in his case, that he does not will his procedure because he sees it to be right according to the obligation of love, but that his procedure is right merely because he wills it, irrespective of the law of love, what possible opportunity would be given for a vindication of his government? It could be shown that he did this and that, but not that what he did was benevolent, just, righteous; for where would be the unalterable principle of benevolence, justice, and righteousness by which to test the divine conduct? How could he even judge of it himself for self-approval, and claim the homage of his universe?"

From all which he makes it appear that the divine government, while supreme and armed with omnipotence, is yet in no evil sense a mere autocracy, far less a despotism. It is not simply self-will using almighty power.

Digitized by Google

"It is the rule of perfect wisdom and infinite love. It is just to all rights; true to all pledges, uttered or implied; faithful to all responsibilities. It is no misuse of a well-known and significant phrase to say that the divine government is, above all others, *a constitutional government;* for it is based on fixed principles and is carried on under definite limitations, which guard alike the interests of ruler and subjects."

Besides this article of Dr. Patton, the Rev. John Miller of Princeton N. J., whose reputation for heresy is not, if we remember rightly, entirely above reproach, is out with a vehement article on the same general theme entitled "A Heresy of the High Theology." He finds this heresy in the beliefs that God is all for himself; that he does everything to display his excellence; that he takes vengeance for its own sake; that the will of God is the ground of moral obligation; that he has mercy on whom he will, and hardens whom he will of his mere good pleasure without any obligation of duty on his own part. The author has lately run across these doctrines in the *Presbyterian*, which says, "There are no duties owed by God to man." "If it was in any sense God's duty to save men . . the divine method of human redemption is entirely subverted." Such statements shock Mr. Miller's soul. "God bless the conscience," he exclaims, "which recoils from such a mythology!" Benevolence he proceds to show without a duty to be benevolent, and purity without a duty to be pure, is absurd. God is the only absolutely dutiful being. "The Lord is righteous in all His ways and holy in all His works." To deny this, he contends, would stop all reasonable worship, quench all practicable love, destroy the very name of King, deform God and trample the very possibilities of good, especially that form of good which consists in begetting adoration. A deformed God is a great light gone out from any religion, and is the chief ally of infidelity. God is not to be worshipped because He is powerful, any more than Satan is; but because He is moral. If He wrongs me in bringing me into being, He is no Sovereign to me. I will unseat Him if I can. Mine is a rightful King, because, infinite in power,

Digitized by Google

He governs all His acts by the same morality that He instils into His creatures. Alleged Orthodoxy, he complains, tampers with the simple morality of the Most High. It dethrones holiness, and exalts a naked Sovereignty, and denies that He has any duty of love to His creatures. And the writer presents the conclusion of the whole matter in these words:

"All my notions of goodness must come from my own conscience. When I take my own conscience and make out of it my best notion of what is holy, and when I find it wonderfully confirmed by Moses and still more so by Christ, I take the Ten Commandments, or I take the two commandments of my Redeemer, and I make of them the best showing of my glorious Creator. I feel confident every step I take. When I read, Thou shalt love thy neighbor, my heart responds, Yes, and God also loves his neighbor; and when I read, Thou shalt love God, I remember that my ground for loving is His purity. I would sin if I loved Him for His power, or His infinitude, or His intelligence. Satan might be loved on that condition; but I see that I love God for His holiness. I love the powerful God simply for His holiness of life; and, therefore, reflecting this upon the Most High, that God, in pitying me, answers to one table of the law, and, loving His own glorious holiness, answers completely and sufficiently to the other."

These articles are suggestive and stimulating, not because their authors, from these principles of the divine character and government, will, of necessity, reach the conclusions of the Universalist faith, for this they do not; but because they are indicative of distrust of the old methods of defending Orthodoxy, and, in fact, furnish an armory from which other minds will draw the heavy ordnance that will at last level the grim walls of error. Therefore we have thought it might be a favor to some of the readers of this publication to present an abstract of their positions.

It will be remembered that Dr. Edward Beecher in his "Conflict of Ages," maintained that the Orthodox theology, unless it changed its position, would have to go down before the relentless blows of these intuitive principles of the human

Digitized by Google

soul, which it *will* persist in applying to the divine nature, and which "threw the Congregrational churches of New England into opposing parties, and agitated and tore them with painful and incessant strife."

Now in order to stop this commotion and vindicate the honor, justice and benevolence of God, he proposed to readjust the system of theology, which would reconcile it to what he styles the principles of honor and right, and which he proves are recognized in the human soul.

These principles will insist that God makes a distinction between the innocent and the guilty, between original constitution and responsible moral character, the obligations of the Creator to His inferior and dependent creatures, the responsibility of God to new created beings as to their original constitutions, powers, circumstances and probation. "If any alleged actions of God come into collision with these natural and intuitive judgments of the human mind, concerning what is honorable and right on the points specified, there is better reason to call in question the alleged facts than to suppose those principles to be false which God has made the human mind intuitively to recognize as true."

These principles bind God in certain particulars, as that He shall feel and act benevolently towards His creatures, and with regard to their true and highest good; that He shall not hold them responsible for anything in them of which they are not the authors, but of which He Himself is either directly or indirectly the Creator; that He shall not deal with the righteous as with the wicked, or so charge the wrong conduct of one being to others as to to punish one being for the conduct of another to which he did not consent and in which he had no part; that He shall confer on them such original constitusions as shall in their natural and proper tendencies favorably affect their prospects for eternity. "The only grounds on which God or any of His holy creatures can be happy or glorious, as honorable and benevolent minds, in view of the ruin of any others, are found in the statements already made."

The setting loose of these principles to war upon theological

Digitized by Google

error, was the signal of great discussions with reference to the creation, nature, fall, redemption of mankind, the atonement, and final destiny of the human race, which have materially modified the old system. It was in their spirit that John Stuart Mill, in replying to Mansel, who, as he supposed, struck at the root of these intuitive principles, gave that burst of impassioned indignation in those familiar words, "I will call no being good who is not what I mean when I apply that epithet to my fellow-creatures: and if such a being can sentence me to hell for not so calling him, to hell I will go."

It would now seem that these principles are renewing their operations in the human soul and are preparing for still other agitations. There will be no peace till they are vindicated, and whatever in so-called systems of Christianity are found incompatible with them, must go to the wall. "Every plant that my Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up." The faith of Universalism need not fear these agitations. Whatever modifications may come to the philosophy and methods of the system, the great fundamental conclusions concerning the character of God, His government and providence, the nature and object of punishment, and the final destiny of souls, which it has set forth, will be established forever.

ARTICLE XVII.

Theories of Skepticism — Atheism.

THIRD PAPER.

ATHEISM is an attempt to solve the problem presented in the material, chemical, vital, mental, moral and religious phenomena of the universe without God. It does not positively deny the existence of God. It could not rationally do this without claiming that every atheist who made the denial was himself in the possession and exercise of divine or infinite perfections. In other words, the atheist would have to claim to be God

Digitized by Google

Himself in order to be in a position, and possessed of the attributes, that would rationally justify him in making the positive affirmation: "*There is no God.*" If he did not know all truths, the truth that he did not know might be the truth of God's existence. If he did not know all intelligent beings, the one being unknown to him might be God. If he did not fill all space the part not filled by himself might be filled by God. If he were not omni-present and omniscient, the part of the universe unknown to him might reveal God.[1]

It is thus evident that the atheist must recognize all divine attributes, and all infinite perfections as existing in himself, before he can rationally deny God's existence. When he does this he only rejects a name while he admits the fact of the existence of the Infinite Being whom we designate by that name, by claiming himself infinite attributes. This is the absurd and self-destroying hypothesis which every atheist puts forth who positively affirms God does not exist. Such an affirmation destroys itself, and the man who makes it commits logical suicide.

Atheists attempt to escape the logical absurdity of this position by stating that they are not convinced of God's existence —the evidence is not conclusive, and the arguments introduced to prove the being of God are not demonstrative.

This is a misrepresentation of the position of theism. The theist does not propose by his reasoning to demonstrate a theorem but to solve a problem. The method is not mathematical but scientific, and the reasoning is not alone deductive, but inductive as well. Now can any rational mind refuse to admit that the hypothesis of a personal, intelligent, self-existent, infinite, eternal, omnipotent, omnipresent, and omniscient creator will solve the problem presented by the phenomena of the universe. Does it not explain all the facts, and account rationally for all being? If it does, why not receive it? Where is the reason for, or the justifications of atheism? If the theistic hypothesis solves the problem of universal being there is no reason in, and no demand for, atheism.

[1] Foster's Lectures.

Digitized by Google

Everything is rationally and logically explained without it. It is an irrational, illogical, unphilosophical, unscientific, and impertinent hypothesis.

But we are told by the atheist that the hypothesis of God's existence is not necessary to solve the problem of the universe —that it can be done without it. To account for all material, vital, rational, moral, and religious phenomena without God, as atheism proposes to do, is to account for an effect without a cause, for thought without a thinker, for a work without a worker, for law without a lawgiver, for a plan without a planning mind, for a building without a builder, for moral government without a moral governor, for worship without an object of worship. This would be to ignore all our rational intuitions and violate all our necessary laws of thought. It is contrary to all reason, all experience, and all common sense. Can such a theory solve the problem presented in the universal order, arrangement, harmony, beauty, adaptation, design, purpose, plan and law which we everywhere meet with in nature? It does not dispose of the difficulty to assume without proof that the universe is eternal, as atheism does. Thought demands a thinker; and order demands reason and intelligence to account for its existence, even though eternal. It is not the fact that they had a beginning but the fact that they are, which needs to be explained; and which cannot be explained without a thinking, rational, and intelligent being. If this thought is eternal there is an eternal thinker—if the order is eternal then there is an eternal reason—and if law is eternal there are eternal mind and will; for it is the symbol and revelation of both. An eternal universe full of thought, mind, plan, purpose, law and order can only be explained by admitting the existence of an eternal God. If time thought demands for its existence a personal intelligence thinking in time, as we know it does; eternal thought demands for its existence a personal intelligenee thinking in eternity. If order, plan, and purpose in the temporal affairs of human life demand for their assistance and presence in time, a personal and intelligent man; eternal order, plan, and purpose

Digitized by Google

demand for their existence and presence in the universe a personal and intelligent God who is working out in time eternal plans and purposes. The theory of an eternal universe does not save atheism from the absurdity of teaching that there is thought without a thinker, order without intelligence, and law without will.

But the order, arrangements, and adaptations of the universe are not eternal. Science takes us back to the time when order sprang from chaos. It shows us when plant life commenced. It points to the period when animal life first made its appearance, and sensation, instinct, and animal intelligence dawned upon the universe. It has read the record of man's creation and fixes the time when reason, conscience and benevolence first illumined the darkness of earth. All this order, life, instinct, intelligence, reason and love had a beginning. How can atheism bridge the chasm between order and chaos, the living and the not living, mind and matter?

These changes under the law of causation which is given us as an intuition of the reason, and as a necessary law of thought[2] demands a cause. They are changes that reveal intelligence and therefore demand an intelligent cause, and as showing benevolence demand a benevolent cause. This cause atheism does not admit. It recognizes no such cause. To do so would be to recognize the God of theism, and this atheism cannot do. In failing to recognize this dynamic, intelligent, and benevolent cause of phenomena, it arrays itself against the intuitions of the mind, the necessary laws of thought and the fundamental principles of all reasoning. While it assumes to use reason, it denies the authority of its established laws, and refuses to receive as true its universal and necessary conclusions.

The doctrine of evolution is relied upon by atheists to explain all the phenomena of organization, life, and mind without God. But evolution is itself an unproved hypothesis, and as such it cannot be relied upon to prove the truth of

[2] See Thompson's "Laws of Thought," "McCosh on the Intuitions," Haven's "Mental Philosophy."

Digitized by Google

atheism. The atheistic materialist must first prove the evolution of all things from a few primordial elements of matter before he can use the hypothesis of evolution to show how mind was evolved from matter, the living from the dead, consciousness from the unconscious, and sensibility from the insensible. This can never be done, because the hypothesis can never be tested by experiment which is the scientific method, and is demanded by the laws of inductivo logic.[3] Evolution can never become verified science, for this reason, and the highest position it can ever attain is that of a probable scientific hypothesis.[4] But the possible and the probable are not always the actual, the real, and the true; and it is so with evolution.

If, however, evolution were a verified and demonstrated method of natural development it would not enable the atheist to dispense with God, as he claims. Evolution is not a cause but a method. It is purely a model, and in no sense a causal operation. To show how a thing is done, does not prove that God did not do it. To discover a mode of operation is to prove the existence of an operating cause. The logical inference from evolution, if true, is theistic and not atheistic. It is simply one of God's methods of work. The method is natural, the cause is supernatural, and taken together they prove the presence of mind and will in the universe. This is fatal to atheism, as it refuses to recognize the presence of either. The uniformity of nature in all her operations does not prove that this is a Godless universe, it only proves that God, who created and controls it, is a Being of reason and intelligence, and that his government is one of law and order. As these uniform methods are rational, they reveal mind, and as they are adapted to the nature and wants of man, they reveal purpose and design. These revelations of nature the atheist refuses to recognize, and by so doing arrays himself against science; for all science results from the perfect adjustment of the order of the universe to the intellect, conscience, and social nature of man. This

[3] Principles of Science. By W. Stanley Jevons. 1 vol. pp. 399, 400, 401.

[4] See Experiment in Principles of Science, pp. 416, 417, 418, 419.

Digitized by Google

adjustment reveals purpose and design; and purpose and design prove existence of rational and voluntary mind. Science is the interpretation of nature. It is man's reading of the thought and plan of the universe. If rational mind alone can read, interpret and understand nature, is it not a self-evident proposition that the order of nature was planned and established by rational mind? Science is therefore a witness for theism, and not for atheism as has been claimed.

Science reveals the power of man over nature, of mind over matter, of will over force. This is the great practical lesson of science; and it demonstrates the superiority of man to nature, of mind to matter, and will to force. This lifts man out of materialism into spiritualism, and reveals the existence of a material order based upon a spiritual order, of material laws based upon spiritual laws, a material universe based upon, resulting from, dependent on, and governed by a spiritual, personal and infinite God. The teaching of all true science is thus seen to be in conflict alike with materialism and atheism, and in harmony with theism and religion. Science reveals God's thoughts, and proclaims divine order. The study of science is the observation of God at work. Works of science are commentaries on God's Gospel of nature, and the true teachers of science are the preachers of this glorious gospel of light and knowledge, liberty and law.

It has been truly said, an undevout astronomer is mad, and the same remark might be applied and with equal truth to the Chemist, the Geologist, the Physiologist and Psychologist; as has been shown by Professor Cooke, Dr. Buckland, Hugh Miller, Dr. Hitchcock, Dr. Beal, and Dr. Chalmers.[5] These writers have shown that chemistry, geology, physiology, and psychology, all are strong witnesses for theism.

The doctrine of the persistence of energy and the transmutation or correlation of force is relied upon by atheist and pantheist to solve the problem of all being, life, and mind without God. In the light of this great discovery of

[5] See Religion and Chemistry, by Prof. J. P. Cooke; Geology, by Dr. Buckland; The Rocks, by Hugh Miller; Science Religion, by Dr. Hitchcock; Physiology, by Dr. Beals.

Digitized by Google

modern science they tell us there is no need for, and no room for a personal infinite will and intelligence; matter and force will solve all problems, explain all mysteries, and account for all facts found in the universe.[6] This argument of atheism would prove too much. It is as conclusive against the existence of all human will and intelligence as against the divine will and intelligence, and would prove that men do not exist as conclusively as it proves that God does not exist.

If there is no such thing as personal will and intelligence in the universe, if all phenomena result from the operation of dead matter and blind force, it is evident that men, women and children as personal, voluntary, and intelligent beings do not exist. The testimony of our senses to their existence according to the logic, philosophy, and science of atheism is a lie. Consciousness is not to be trusted; for, if this reasoning of atheism is true, it is a false witness. Personal consciousness, personal experience, personal relations, personal obligations, and personal rights are in the judgment of the atheist all illusions. All language, all experience, all ethics, and all law upon this theory are monstrous frauds. This is the logical outcome of the reasoning of atheists in their efforts to substitute matter and force for personal will and intelligence as factors in building the universe. A system of thought that is so wholly revolutionary and destructive as this can not be true. If the philosophy of atheism is true, dead matter and blind force are vastly superior in creative power and constructive ability to men and women. It takes will, and intelligence, and a knowledge of mechanical science to enable a man to construct a plow; but in the opinion of atheists, matter and force without will, intelligence or knowledge create the man who made the plow, and the horse who draws it. Was ever reason so unreasonable, logic so illogical, and philosophy so unphilosophical? And this is the boasted system that is to correct the errors, enlighten the darkness, and instruct the ignorance of such men as Bacon, Boyle, Plato, Socrates, Newton, Locke, and Herschel, who

[6] The Safest Creed, by O. B. Frothingham. pp. 140, 141. Ingersoll's Lectures. 1 Series, pp. 39, 40.

Digitized by Google

were so ignorant and superstitious as to believe in God and the Bible.

All observation and experience prove that force unless directed by intelligence does not produce order and harmony; but disorder, confusion and discord. In order to account for the intelligent arrangement, the wise adjustment, orderly movement, and harmonious action of the universe, we must not only have matter and force, but force directed by intelligence, and controlled by will. Nature then reveals the presence of mind and will directing force and controlling matter in all her wise and beneficent operations.

But force itself is of spiritual origin. We only know it as revealed to consciousness in an act of volition or an effort of will.[7] "Man exerting his volition, walks, or strikes a blow, force and will thus become related terms, and we are compelled to regard the forces of nature as they are usually termed, as only the outward and visible manifestation of the will of God." This high authority in science is not to be set aside by the dictum of atheism. Force itself is an effect of which God is the cause, and there can be no manifestation of force without revealing the presence and action of divine will. The true philosophy of the persistence and unity of force shows its spiritual and divine origin and shows the perfect harmony of this doctrine with theism. Thus another stronghold of scientific atheism falls, and, the guns of this logical battery are turned against the general position of the enemy of all faith in God and religion.[8]

Natural Law has been pressed into the service of atheism, and the universal order of nature has been used to prove the absence of all mind. We read in the works of this class of writers of "creation by Law," "development by Law," "evolution by Law,"[9] just as though the presence of law proved that God was not present, and this reign of law proved that God did not reign! Law is not a cause by which anything is created. It is only the uniform mode in which a cause oper-

[7] Physics, by Prof. Benj. Silliman. pp. 8.

[8] Scientific Basis of Faith, by J. J. Murphy. 1 vol p. 47.

[9] The Reign of Law, by the Duke of Argyll. 1 vol. p. 100.

Digitized by Google

ates. It is not a force, but the regular line along which a force moves.

The presence of universal law demands the presence of a universal cause, and universal force; and the existence and presence of these prove the existence and action of omnipresent mind and will. These are found only in God. The existence of law reveals the existence of God, and the universality of law reveals the omnipresence of God. "No purpose is ever attained in nature, except by the enlistment of laws, as means, and instruments of attainment." Law is then the instrument of the Divine purpose, and its presence in nature reveals the presence of divine thought in nature's plan, and of divine will working out such plan.

Law is thus a divine contrivance arranged for the attainment of purpose, and as it is universal, shows the universe filled with the thought of God. The existence of law proves that there is order in Nature, and the presence of order reveals the presence of an ordaining mind. God is thus seen to be in natural law, and as Nature is full of law, it is also full of God. It is an axiom in philosophy that no being can act where he is not. As God acts everywhere — as the universe is filled with the evidences of God's thought, plan, purpose, law and action, it shows the omnipresence of God. The material universe is the garment in which God clothes Himself, and its plan reveals His thought, and its beauty His taste. Though Nature is full of God, it does not exhaust His perfections, or limit His attributes. God is in Nature, but He is also above Nature. It does not confine Him, or condition the action of His thought and will. Law in matter, life and mind reveals the presence of God in all these, and makes them the instruments of His action, and the means of His manifestation. Nature as a revelation of God is adapted to the intellect of man, and through this revelation we acquire a knowledge of our Divine Father. Natural and revealed religion thus come into unity and harmony, and science and the Bible both teach the power, wisdom and goodness of God.

Atheism holds to the mechanical view of nature. But this

Digitized by Google

does not sustain atheism; for the very thing to be explained is the mechanism. How did it arise? From whence did it spring? Who is its author? If there is neither will nor mind in the universe, as the atheist assumes, who constructed the wonderful mechanism of nature? We know by experience that every machine produced by the art of man is the result of will and intelligence. If only will and intelligence will account for a mechanical contrivance of human art, how can a mechanical contrivance of nature be explained without them? If the construction of the telescope reveals will, intelligence, purpose and design, how is it that the formation of the eye reveals none of these? The question, then, is not whether the mechanical view or the theological view of the universe is the correct one, for both may be true. The mechanical system may exist for the realization of preconceived ends. Both theist and atheist may quite agree as to the existence of the mechanical aystem, but the theist holds that the system has all the evidence of manufacture.[10] This being so nature presents the same evidences of purpose, design, contrivance, and arrangement that art does, and as art reveals the presence and action of mind and will, so does nature. The same reasoning that will prove there is no mind in nature will banish mind from every department of human art. And the final outcome of the logic of atheism is not only that there is no such being as God, but that there are no such beings as rational men. How do we know that mind is a part of man's nature, or that reason and intelligence exist? The mind in general is known only by its effects. Its existence is an inference. The human mind is as much hidden from observation as is the infinite mind. We are conscious of thought and purpose in ourselves, that they exist in others is a conclusion reached by the exercise of our reason. How do we know that men are rational? The reply is, they act as though they were. We know that will and intelligence are behind the movements of nature just as we know that they are behind the actions of men. Nature and art both reveal purpose; and purpose, whether in the actions of

[10] Studies in Theism, by Borden P. Bowne. 1 vol. p. 86.

Digitized by Google

men or the orderly movements of nature, reveals the presence of personal mind. The same argument which disproves the existence of mind behind the physical phenomena of the universe, disproves the existence of mind in all human actions. This argument of atheism proves too much, and it therefore logically fails to prove anything. We must receive the existence of the intelligent God as true, or reject the existence of rational men as untrue. Atheists may take either horn of the dilemma they please.

The only escape from this is to deny to men all conscious, voluntary, rational action, and make all mental phenomena an outcome of physical necessity and conscious delusion. For automatism does not escape the necessity of admitting purposive action in the system as long as consciousness is allowed to stand. "For man is a part of nature, and he does act with purpose. In human activity purpose controls the arrangement and action of efficient causes. But man's activity, on the theological theory, would only be the activity of nature, and hence it would follow that nature does act with purpose at least in living things. In one department of natural activity, it is certain that purpose controls action; but if this is possible in the department of conscious life, why not possible in the outer world."[11] It is thus seen that the claim of atheists that purpose is nowhere controlling in the system, breaks down, and hence the extent of its control is purely a matter of evidence. We have the same ground for believing in controlling purpose in nature as we have in human action. The purposive character of human action cannot be denied without breaking down consciousness. This destroys the personality of man, as well as the personality of God. Such are the logical consequences of the theories and reasonings of atheism.

But suppose we repudiate consciousness in order to help atheism build the universe without God. With the repudiation of consciousness all knowledge vanishes, and the very data of science is destroyed. This system, which boastingly

[11] Studies in Theism, by B. P. Bowne. 1 vol. p. 190.

Digitized by Google

claims to be the only truly scientific theory of the universe, ends by making science impossible. It lands the human intellect in universal skepticism, and in order to prove there is no God, proves that neither matter or mind, men or the physical universe have any existence. Even the atheists themselves according to the logic of atheism, have no conscious existence, and we have a doubt without any conscious mind to hold it. We have presented the strange contradiction of doubt without a doubter, skepticism without a skeptic, and atheism without an atheist. This system thus logically destroys itself.

But what explanation can atheism give of the moral and religious phenomena presented in consciousness, experience and history? What solution of the problem presented in this large class of facts has the atheist to offer? To solve the problem of morals and religion, of moral government without a moral Governor, of moral law without a moral Law-giver, of authority without any person in whom that authority is lodged, of worship without an object of worship, of religion without God, is the work before atheism. In attempting this, evolution is relied on to work out the solution of this most difficult problem. The theory of evolution is that man's religious and moral natures were not created, but have been gradually evolved by an effort on the part of the living organism to adjust itself to its environment. But the question is not one of origin; it is one of credibility. We do not ask how men received their moral and religious faculties, but what do they teach us now that we have them? Are they trustworthy? Can we rely upon them? If they are reliable and trustworthy they give us morals, moral order, moral law, moral government, religion and God; if they are not reliable neither are our senses, consciousness or reason, and in that case our own existence and the existence of the material universe are unknown as well as the existence of God.

According to the theory of evolution our senses, consciousness, intelligence, appetites and passions were evolved just the same as our moral and religious faculties. If our moral and religious faculties are not trustworthy and reliable, it follows that

Digitized by Google

we cannot trust any part of our natures; none of our faculties are reliable, and as a consequence all knowledge is impossible. The logic based on evolution which destroys the knowledge of God also destroys the knowledge of the material universe and makes science as impossible as theology. If human nature is reliable and all our faculties are trustworthy, we not only maintain the fact of the existence of the universe, but the fact of God's existence, and prove not only the truth of science but the truth of morals and religion. Evolutionists teach us that the objective environment acting on the subjective nature of man has caused the evolution of all his organs, senses and faculties. Light acting on the optic nerve has developed the eye, sound waves falling on the auditory nerve have developed the ear, and society acting on man as an individual has developed his social nature.[12] Now what is there in man's environment which is correlated to man's moral and religious faculties as light is to the eye, sound to the ear, and society to the social nature, unless it be moral law and God? This being so, as it evidently is, it follows, that as according to the philosophy of evolution, we could have no eye without light, and no ear without sound, and no social instinct without society, that we could have no moral and religious nature without God. God's presence and influence as a part of man's environment are necessary to the evolution of his moral and religious faculties.

So evolution in dealing with man's religious nature is theistic and not atheistic. Science and nature reveal the law that organs, senses and faculties unexercised on their appropriate objects are lost. Hence the fishes in subterranean streams are found to be without eyes.[13] In the absence of light the organ of vision could not be exercised, and nature dropped it. Under the action of this law, if there be no God man would long since have lost his religious nature. Religious thought, emotion and action would no longer have an existence. They would be unknown to consciousness, experience,

[12] Cosmic Philosophy, by John Fiske. 2 vol. p. 67. See also Principles of Psychology, by Herbert Spencer. 1 vol. pp. 137, 138.

[13] Geological Survey of Indiana.

Digitized by Google

history and literature. Their influence would not be seen in institutions, creeds, sacraments or worship. But this is not true in regard to man. The facts are all opposed to this inference. Men were never more religious than at present. The religious faculties were never so well developed. Religious thought and emotion were never stronger or more active. This being so, it follows according to this law that God exists and reigns as the proper object of religious faith, love and worship.

It is thus seen that evolution will not solve the problem presented in the moral and religious phenomena found in connection with individual and social man without God. Religious experience, which is a fact of consciousness revealed in human testimony and recorded in biography and history, presents a class of phenomena with which atheism does not attempt to deal philosophically. The existence of the phenomena cannot be denied without rejecting consciousness as a credible witness, and refusing to believe human testimony. And if we regard the phenomena as true, an hypothesis claiming to be scientific should give a rational explanation of their existence. This atheism has never even attempted to do. The only effort in that direction has not been an attempt to rationally account for the phenomena without God; but it has been in the form of denial of the essential character of the phenomena to be explained. But religious life, religious character and religious enjoyment are all grounded on religious experience. About the existence of these there can be no question, and atheists cannot evade the difficulty by denying the facts. The fact of religious experience can only be accounted for rationally, by admitting the existence of God who is in living, conscious and personal communion with man. This grounds the existence and relations of God to humanity on experience, and makes the science of religion an experimental science. The power of religion, and especially of Christianity, as a factor in the progress and civilization of the race cannot be accounted for on the principles of pure naturalism. This influence of religion reveals God in society and history. It shows the Divine as a co-factor with the human, and the supernatural as working under natural conditions.

Digitized by Google

ARTICLE XIX.

Human Destiny a Vital Question.

FEW questions at the present time attract greater attention among scientific men, than the problem of the origin of life. When, how and where did the human race first begin? Was man a sudden creation in the complete possession and full maturity of his powers, or is his present physical form, mental structure and moral faculties, the result of gradual development from the lowest forms of animal or vegetable life? In the solution of this question no small research and study has been employed. And from a scientific point of view it is, no doubt, a subject of absorbing interest. It is, if we may judge from the number of volumes that have been written upon it, the chief topic of thought and controversy among those whose assumed office it is to decide matters of this kind. And no mind, perhaps, can be utterly indifferent to it. It would be a source of entertainment, if not of instruction, to people generally, to know how and where humanity first started on the race of life,—to have such an acquaintance with one's genealogical record as to be able to trace their ancestral line far back into the primitive ages of the world. Indeed, it might possibly be useful to us all to know the character and habits of our more remote relations, whether they were actually beings like ourselves, or whether they were the progeny of ocean slime and mud deposits of some distant geological period, and if a family resemblance, tendencies and characteristics have been preserved in an unbroken lineage through the manifold and mysterious changes of the past. We certainly have no desire to dispute the gravity of this theme, nor to dampen the enthusiasm of any earnest inquirer in regard to it.

But what has to us seemed exceedingly remarkable is that while these learned men are so interested in searching for the origin of the race, they appear to care so little in regard to the question of its destiny, taking extraordinary pains to dis-

Digitized by Google

cover how man came into the world, and yet apparently so indifferent to the methods of his exit, or to his condition after he has departed this life. Between these two questions, the origin and the destiny of humanity, it would seem that the latter must be regarded by far the more serious and weighty. Whether we consider it from a practical or a speculative point of view, the problem concerning what man is to be in the ages to come, possesses far greater interest than the inquiry as to what he has been in the obscure periods of the past. A freight of human souls drifting in mid-ocean, without compass, rudder or star, would not be likely to care so much about the port from which they sailed as the kind of haven, if any, at which they might possibly land. So the race, generally, drifting in the darkness of ignorance on the vast ocean of time, storm-tossed and bewildered, would not, we think, be so anxious about the place they came from, as the nature of the shore or the port where they are finally to land.

But aside from the developments and speculations of science, this question has to every thoughtful person a profound personal interest. As he stands upon this earth that is soon to be his grave, with unnumbered stars above him, awful in their cold silence, mocking the questioning heart,—with the thousand mysteries of life, death and sin around him,—with precious and sacred memories of departed loved ones; the questions that must force themselves with solemn emphasis upon his attention are, What am I? Whither is this rapid stream of life bearing me, with all whom I hold dear, and the great race of humanity? What was this world really made for? What is to be the final outcome of all these marvellous forces lodged in matter and mind? Has the Intelligent Power who gave existence to these things, any particular object in view Himself, or is this world, with its wonderful phenomena, its countless forms of life, its sublime and perfect laws, some great side show, to end at last in nothing but a grim burial of man's dearest hopes and the complete extinction of man himself? These are questions which the earnest soul of all ages and of all races has anxiously and tearfully asked.

Digitized by Google

To claim, then, as the scientist does, that the origin of man is a purely scientific question, while he places the problem of his destiny outside the jurisdiction and notice of science, is a superficial and unworthy disposal of so serious a matter, and unwarranted by a correct definition of terms. Science, to be sure, deals with facts. But are there no facts in the universe external to the realm of physics? Are there no facts except things recognized by the senses and possessed of the qualities of form, substance, color and weight? Are there no moral facts, psychological facts, facts brought to light in the nature and history of man as an intellectual and spiritual being? Were it absolutely true that there existed no realities outside the limits of matter, then there might be some show of reason and justice in this cribbed and narrow view of the province of scientific inquiry. But we believe there are facts in connection with the moral constitution of man, which, perhaps, cannot be gauged by callipers or seen by microscopic lens, yet nevertheless are facts, grandly beautiful and wonderfully significant, and worthy to be treated in a scientific spirit. And if so treated will throw no small amount of light on the question of human destiny. We may also venture here the prediction that when this and other great questions of a theological nature are examined and discussed from a scientific rather than from a traditional point of view, then will a better day dawn upon both the world of science and of religion.

Yet whatever the methods employed in the solution of this question, there can be to the reflecting mind but one sentiment in regard to its vital importance. Within the vast and manifold fields of human investigation, or the wide and multiplied relations and interests of mankind, we can hardly conceive of a subject of such unspeakable magnitude or thrilling interest. What question, indeed, can be suggested to mortal men and women of such infinite moment as the question of the soul's eternal future, the final condition of this mighty world of humanity,—whether it, or any part of it, shall sink into the utter darkness of annihilation, or its sins and miseries be prolonged in lines parallel with the lifetime of God, or whether,

Digitized by Google

as a whole, it shall be delivered, eventually, from all obstacles that impede its advancement in divine life and knowledge? The most fervent imagination stops in absolute amazement before the vastness of such a problem. Words, however marshalled, must utterly fail to give any adequate conception of its magnitude. And so precious are the hopes and serious are the interests involved in its solution, that no person, we think, can be true to the claims or wants of his own spiritual nature who treats such a matter with indifference.

We are not ignorant of the causes often urged in extenuation of this indifference. Some of these causes, perhaps, invite sympathy and toleration rather than rebuke. There are those truly sincere in their desire for the truth, and yet who, while earnestly seeking for light, encounter difficulties which they cannot overcome, dark and inexplicable things which they are unable to master. In their intense longings and unwearied searchings, they find no satisfactory solution. And yielding to a sense of despair in these blind and fruitless gropings for solid ground, they utterly give up the search with the declaration that it is a question which must be classed among unknowable things, and all attempts to solve it will prove utterly futile; and the inconsistency of this position is made more glaring when we find it is assumed by a class who exhibit the most intense interest in the painstaking efforts to master the problem of human origin. The prolonged search and a thousand defeats that have marked the attempt of the scientist to discover the secret of man's beginning, do not in the least cool his ardor or quench his enthusiasm. Neither do these frequent failures excite any wail of despair or check investigation. With him it is still an open question, and one which he never proposes to abandon. Confining, however, our inquiries to the realm of nature or reason, the probabilities are that we shall be just as likely by scientific methods to ascertain the destiny of man, as his origin. And if failure in the former task furnishes any good reason for indifference towards it, the logic is equally weighty against all farther effort in the solution of the beginning of human life, and bears also with equal force against the investigation of any difficult question.

Digitized by Google

Again, this question is not only serious and important, independent of all correlative interests, but its magnitude is immeasurably increased when its intimate connection with other weighty theological and moral problems is calmly considered. Its decision involves other matters of no small moment. So that in treating this theme with apathy, we manifest an apparent neglect and a superficiality of acquaintance with other subjects in close relation with the best interests of the race. A right decision on this special topic determines the position the mind must occupy on many others. It is the true key to a large number of profound spiritual problems, the central sun in the religious heavens around which revolve all the lesser satellites of truth. Notice briefly, for instance, a few of this large family group of moral and religious questions, which are necessarily involved in this matter of the soul's hereafter, and which take their entire shape and coloring from it.

1. It is clear that a knowledge of the result of God's dealings with His children is absolutely necessary to a right understanding of His spirit and character. It is evidently the only way by which we can determine whether this universe is under the control of a good or an evil Deity. In human affairs no one feels qualified to judge of the skill, ability, genius or disposition of any person, until he has some knowledge of their plans and intentions, but especially of the outcome of their labors. What really can we know of the skill of a mechanic, the genius of an artist, the intellectual or moral qualities of any individual, unless we know what they intend to do, or see what they finally accomplish! Neither can there be any way of determining positively the nature and disposition of the Eternal One, whether He is a being of kindness or cruelty, love or revenge, unless we have some knowledge of the purpose for which the human race was created. The present condition of things, either in the natural or moral world, can afford us no adequate source of information on this subject. Because everything in the present is in a state of progress, the ultimate is not reached. Hence there

Digitized by Google

must be mystery and uncertainty in regard to its character. So long, therefore, as we confine our vision to present phenomena, and close our eyes to final results, we have no means of settling this important question. It is possible that God intends to make the life He has given to man an infinite curse. Or it may be that He designs the rescuing of His children from all sin and evil. Or, perhaps, some other destiny, such as the perfect extinction of being, awaits them. But whatever view we take of the finality of His dealings, that view must shape and determine our estimate of the Divine Spirit and attributes. The confession that we have no fixed opinion in regard to the ultimate destiny of the race, really implies that we have no settled conviction in regard to what God Himself is, what kind of a being has created and controls the universe. The one distinctly involves the other.

It is not sufficient to say, nor have we any logical right to say, that since the works of Nature show that God is both merciful and kind, His moral government must necessarily lead to some bright and happy result in respect to His rational offspring. This is simply begging the question. These temporal glimpses of divine goodness can decide nothing concerning man's eternal future. Such evidence is only partial and one-sided. The other and more important witnesses have not been called. If man is immortal, the inquiry which forces itself more strongly upon the mind is the nature of the testimony which the scenes and transactions of another life furnish upon this subject. Putting the two worlds together, mortal and immortal, what is to be the final issue of all these instrumentalities in the hands of the Infinite Spirit as affecting the ultimate condition of humanity. Eternity, as well as time, must be taken into the account before we can form any correct estimate of divine goodness. It is plain, then, that we can know nothing definitely of the character or disposition of God until they are seen in the light of those conditions and transactions that lie beyond the tomb, until we know something of the issues of His moral government in the spirit world. The moment that light shines in upon this point and

Digitized by Google

knowledge lifts the mysterious curtain of the future and shows the nature of that life which spans the immortal ages, then we have some valuable and certain data upon which to decide this important matter. But not till then.

2. A knowledge of the end of God's dealings with His human family is essential to the solution of the deep mystery of evil. The problem of the origin and uses of evil in the moral universe has occupied the attention of the serious and philosophical in all ages of the world. It has perplexed the keenest intellects, bewildered the most learned, both in schools of metaphysics and sects of religion. Various have been the attempts to unriddle this dark enigma, to reconcile the existence of sin and wrong with the attributes of an all-wise and benevolent Creator. Nor have these wrestlings of the soul with this subject been confined to the philosopher and the theologian. The humblest dweller in this world of sin and suffering, the children of affliction and sorrow, the victims of wrong and oppression, the philanthropist who weeps over the wants and miseries of his race, the desolate, the destitute, the aching heart everywhere, these have all asked, with deep earnestness, why God suffered this dismal scourge to enter this otherwise fair creation, blighting the hopes, withering the joys, and embittering the cup of mortals? What object did the Divine Being have in view when He allowed it a place under His government? Did He intend to make it perpetual, to give it an endless lease of life and dominion over the souls of His children, or did He design that it should be temporary in its nature,—an instrument in the grand work of moral education and development? These questions occur to all thoughtful minds. How shall they be answered? How indeed can we expect to find a solution to this painful mystery until we adopt some rational view of the ultimate results of evil,—some opinion respecting man's final condition. If we have determined nothing in our own minds concerning the purpose of the divine economy with man, we have no means of reaching any decision respecting the uses of evil, we can know nothing of the design of the Almighty in permitting it, whether He

Digitized by Google

had a benevolent or a malignant object in view, whether it is to be incidental or permanent in the affairs of His creation. All around us is mystery, and we have no key with which to unlock its sealed portals.

Going into a manufactory or the workshop of a mechanic, we find in the first stages of the process all the materials in a rough, confused and imperfect state. We know, however, from the buzz of the wheels and noise of the machinery that work of some kind is in progress. And from the apparent intelligence and movements of the workmen we conclude that there must be some definite purpose to be accomplished, some special uses to be made of these discordant materials, now scattered in seeming confusion. But precisely what that purpose is we cannot tell until we have been made acquainted in some way with the results. When these are known, when the end of the process is witnessed, then we know the uses of many things that before appeared strange and incomprehensible. The preparation of the rough material, the eccentric movements of the machinery, and all the different stages of operation that were apparently irregular and obscure, are now seen to be clear, consistent and harmonious.

It is so in the moral world. Growing out of the existence of evil there are obscure and dark things which the human mind cannot comprehend. Shadows dense and impenetrable blind the way of man's earthly pilgrimage; afflictions enter his home, bereavements oppress his heart, and a thousand events occur in the experience of mortals and in the history of nations for which there is apparently no explanation. Accepting the idea of a God there is evidently some kind of a work going on, mighty forces are in operation, the vast machinery of human society is in motion; we hear the clatter and jar of opposing activities, the friction of manifold wants and interests, more wonderful and intricate than seen in the wheels of Ezekiel's vision. But what that work is, or what that result is, to which all these forces and movements are tending, we can know but little while we keep our eyes fastened to the present world. We may search in vain among

Digitized by Google

these elementary stages of human existence for an answer to this irrepressible enigma. Taking no thought of eternal things, we have no means of estimating the uses of moral evil or the divine purpose in its ordination. A more distant view, a vision which extends beyond the horizon of this earthly state, is necessary to determine its final work and mission. It is only the broader sweep of the telescope bringing to light some far-off beautiful world, that enables the astronomer to explain the perturbations and eccentricities of the orbits of nearer planets. And by the same law, it is only the wider vision, opening to faith the immortal sphere, that helps one to understand the moral disturbances and seeming irregularities occurring on this lower world. Looking beyond the boundaries of time, the primary step in the Creator's work, and taking into our thought His beneficent and gracious purpose in the final appointment of evil, we have the solution of its existence. This is the key to this great mystery that hangs over life, the answering voice that blends all these harsh and discordant notes of creation into one grand and harmonious anthem. In this view evil becomes an instrument of final good, an educator in the primary school of life, a means of spiritual discipline by which the race is helped upward in the march of progress. Under the shining radiance of this truth only is light to be found. By its sweet rays all things, both in the present and the future, are clothed in divine order and beauty. The goodness of God is vindicated, and His ways justified to men.

3. A further examination of this subject will show that a knowledge of the end of the divine dealings with man, is requisite as an intelligent foundation of moral duty. There is, in the present chaotic state of theological speculation, a large amount of eloquent advice about doing one's duty and letting the future take care of itself. Such advice, however plausible it may appear to the superficial view, exhibits but slight acquaintance with the true grounds of duty. It is a simple thing to talk about the excellence of morality, the value of righteousness, and the beauty of a loving and obedi-

Digitized by Google

ent spirit. It is easy to insist that a man should do his duty. But the question that lies back of all moral homilies and ethical instruction, is the foundation of duty, the motives and reasons for the performance of it. Am I told that it is my duty to love and obey God? I should naturally ask for what reason is it my duty to love and obey God? Is it said, Because God is infinitely kind and good, and worthy of my love and obedience? Such an answer, however, although the common one, is only assuming certain premises without the least evidence, and is suggestive to the thoughtful mind of another of deeper import, namely: How do I know that God is infinitely kind and good,— how do I know that He is a being whom it is possible for me to love,— how do I know, taking into the account the condition of humanity in the present, together with what its condition is to be in the unnumbered ages of the future, that the Ruler of the universe is infinitely good? And until this can be shown, there can exist no motive for love and no claims for obedience. The possible discovery that God has given me and those whom I hold dear, an existence which may prove in the end an absolute and unmitigated evil, would exclude at once all incentives to love, and even to respect. And without love as the foundation and the motive, there can exist no true, intelligent or acceptable obedience.

The above considerations clearly indicate how intimately involved is this problem of human destiny with the grounds of moral duty. God does not demand of His children a blind or mechanical service, or a forced allegiance to His authority. He seeks the homage of the heart, a free, spontaneous uplifting of the affections. Such conditions, of course, can come only from a correct knowledge of His moral character. The soul must be inspired by beautiful conceptions of His spirit and attributes, created by noble and rational views of His eternal care and providence over His intelligent creation. This, of course, implies some settled opinion on the subject of man's final career. The theory that a man can give, in any true or intelligent sense, his heart to God when he is ignorant of God, and ignorant of His ultimate purpose concerning him

Digitized by Google

and the objects of his love, exhibits but a limited acquaintance with the laws that control the human affections. Love springs from intelligence, from some knowledge of the character of the person or being towards whom it is exercised. And that knowledge must be of a nature to attract admiration, kindle the emotions, win the heart. But the attainment of that knowledge in reference to the Supreme Being cannot be secured without an acquaintance with the principles of His moral government and the issues to which they finally lead. All motives and incentives to love must poise upon that one momentous question, the design of the Almighty in the creation of the human race,— they must all centre in the stupendous thought of what we ourselves are to be, and humanity is to be, in the endless life that awaits all souls. It is only an acquaintance with this truth, the consummation of all things, that can furnish man adequate reasons for an intelligent fulfillment of the first and great commandment, which, as is admitted, constitutes the basis of all moral duty. The idea that the soul can give to God its supreme affection without knowing something of its ultimate destiny, something of a divine purpose in which it has an infinite interest, is simply the climax of absurdity.

We have no desire in the present article to discuss this subject from a sectarian point of view. Our aim simply has been to plead its importance, and to urge its investigation. It is, we believe, peculiarly a vital question, lying at the foundation of man's dearest hopes, the color line in the different theological beliefs. It is, moreover, a practical question, involving principles that enter more or less into every department of life. Whatever may be our doctrinal views, or our principles of moral action, those views and principles should rest upon a right foundation. None can consistently believe without evidence, or walk blindfold in the path of duty. Man should not only know the rule but the reason for the rule. Theories and motives should both have positive knowledge for their basis, rather than the shifting currents of custom and tradition. And no one, we should suppose, who loves the truth and

Digitized by Google

makes its search and possession the great and sacred object of life, could be indifferent to such a subject.

If, as not a few claim, this is a sealed question, that there are no sources of positive knowledge, no means of reaching any certain conclusion in regard to it, then, indeed, is the condition of man most melancholy. His noblest desires are but tantalizing dreams; his sweetest visions are but a mocking mirage, alluring only to deceive, promising only to disappoint. We have, however, no such painful picture to contemplate. The Bible and Christianity aside, if it is preferred, then there is a class of facts pertaining to the intellectual nature of man, full of profound meaning and luminous with intimations of a brighter spiritual horoscope. That kind of a science or philosophy which deals with man simply as an animal, which puts him, at the very threshold of the inquiry, on a level with the brute,— which delves among the rotten creations of the past,— fumbles among the deposits of river ooze and ocean slime,— digs literally into the foulest mud to find the lineal parentage of humanity, the beginning of thought, genius, aspiration, conscience, is, we think, an insult to human nature and a libel upon its Maker. It is only a superficial and one-sided view, and the worst side at that, of the wonderful faculties and possibilities of man, and does injustice to the marvellous facts of his spiritual being.

True scientific methods, as well as impartial investigation, require us to recognize all the facts of man's nature, history, and experience. There are revelations which shine out from his nobler instincts and wants,— facts traced by the finger of his Maker upon his intellectual and moral constitution—truths voiced in significant language from every earnest longing and devout aspiration of his bosom. Has vaunted science nothing to do with these in its speculations concerning the beginnings of rational life? And have they no force or weight in the decision of that question which above all others claims the attention of mortal beings? Such a class of facts, we should expect, would be as worthy of thoughtful inquiry as the habits of a protoplasm or the structure of an animalcule. A recog-

Digitized by Google

nition of them by the scientific mind in their theory building, would, we are sure, do much to redeem science from the charge of bald materialism, which is now so justly associated with its methods of investigation, and also aid the inquiring to a right decision of issues connected with man's eternal fate. And if more attention were given by our Darwins and Huxleys to the moral and religious side of human nature, there might be found sufficient reasons for bridging this chasm and ending this conflict now apparently existing between religion and science.

ARTICLE XX.

The Puritans and the Quakers.

"WHAT was the policy of the early colonists of Massachusetts toward Quakers and others whom they regarded as intruders? Was this policy in any respect objectionable, and, if so, what excuses can be offered for it?" [1]

To understand thoroughly the policy of the early colonists toward intruders, it is first necessary to mention some of the important rights conferred upon them by their charter, and to obtain an insight into their aims and purposes. This can not be done without giving a brief history of the founding of the colony. An understanding of the aims and purposes of the colonists will assuredly involve an understanding of their policy toward intruders. Since treatment is the expression of policy, we shall then see how the severity which they visited upon intruders and dissenters was the only consistent outcome of such aims and purposes and rights as the early colonists of Massachusetts had.

The Reverend Mr. John White seems to have been the

[1] In 1881 Mrs. Augustus Hemmenway offered two prizes, known as "The Old South Prizes," for the best two Essays on the subject here named, open to all graduates of the Boston High and Latin Schools of the years 1879–1881. The second prize was awarded to this Essay, written by a lad of only sixteen years at the time of its composition. We have been obliged to omit several pages of the historical introduction for the want of space.—*Ed.*

Digitized by Google

most earnest forwarder of the first planting of a colony on Massachusetts Bay. He was made rector of Trinity Church, at Dorchester, England, in 1605; and as his parish was situated in a town which supplied many of the sailors who made fishing and trading voyages to New England, he was interested in the establishment of a settlement on this side of the water, where the mariners might, in their long voyages, be supplied with fresh food, and where they might also have the strengthening influence of religious teaching.

He consulted with ship owners, and succeeded in forming a company with a capital of £3,000. A piece of land was secured from the Earl of Mulgrave, through the agency of Edward Winslow and the Plymouth Colony. A small party was despatched, in 1622, to pass the winter, carrying live stock, and materials to be used in the fishing trade. Despite the failures of this party, and the fruitless attempt of Roger Conant to reclaim the plantation, Mr. White had the pleasure of seeing his project brought under the eyes of London by the coming thither of John Woodbury for supplies, in 1627. But the Dorchester company no longer existed. Its £3,000 together with more which, the "Planters' Plea" tells us, had been raised, were exhausted, but,

"The Business . . . being at first approved by some and disliked by others, by argument and disputation it grew to be more vulgar; insomuch that, some men showing some good affection to the work, and offering the help of their purses if fit men might be procured to go over, inquiry was made whether any would be willing to engage their persons in the voyage."

And so, after consideration of a number of candidates, John Endicott was selected, who was well recommended, and was eager to erect a "new colony upon the old foundation."

After three months of preparation, he started for the plantation here. The hardier of the first party of colonists, who had remained here, "not liking their seat at Cape Ann," which had been chosen for its fishing grounds, removed "about four or five leagues distant to the southwest" to

Digitized by Google

Naumkeag. Here Endicott landed. He "came over to govern;" and he showed that he "was a fit instrument to begin this wilderness work" in fraternizing his men with the "old planters," jealous of their rights, in such a complete and gentle way that they called their settlement Salem, "the peaceful." There are not above fifty or sixty colonists all told. But these, led on by the pioneer Endicott soon cut roads, bridge streams, clear away forests, and in the next spring (1629) "begin to set up ploughing."

On the 4th of March, 1629, the Royal Charter, creating a corporation under the name of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, was secured by the company, which had meanwhile greatly increased. In this charter is contained the following clause:

"It shall and may be lawful to and for the chief commander, governor, etc., of the said company, resident in the said part of New England, for their special defence and safety, to encounter, expulse, repel, and resist by force of arms, as well by sea as by land, and by all fitting ways and means whatsoever, all such person and persons as shall at any time hereafter attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment, or annoyance to the said plantation or inhabitant."

In this clause was full permission to expel any one whose presence was not desirable to the magistrates; and they made use of it from the very first sitting of the Court, proceeding to clear their grant of all judged "unmeet to inhabit in this jurisdiction." Besides this, the general courts were empowered to make all necessary laws for the colonists, "so as such laws be not contrary and repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm of England."

This charter intended to establish a colony with the government resident in England. How, through the agency of Mr. Cradock, the Company finally decided to transfer the seat of government to this side of the water, and Winthrop was appointed to supersede Endicott, is so familiar to all that it need not be recorded. A word as to the aims and purposes of the Founders.

Digitized by Google

We have already briefly hinted at the causes of their departure from England. They longed to exercise their simple and pure religion in a place remote from the many forms—a relic of popery,—of the English church. Feeling perhaps a little uncertain as to whether a suitable religious home could be provided here, they had sent John Endicott, a staunch Puritan, as a pioneer. Their largest expectations were realized upon the receipt of Mr. Higginson's cheering letters. Then it was that they decided to take the step which was to separate them forever from the land of their nativity.

It is beyond question true that the deepest religious spirit pervaded the minds of these men. They wished to found here a new state with the whole Bible as its statute book, where all English Puritans might find a congenial home. They did not wish to form "a colony which should be a refuge for civil and religious freedom." For civil and religious freedom, as we use the words, would have completely subverted their idea of government. Winthrop expresses most beautifully the only condition under which such a government as they desired could exist. He says in his "Model of Christian Charity," "We must be knit together in this work as one man." They were fully prepared to eradicate any element among the colonists which should prevent the members of that "one man" from working in perfect harmony. Undoubtedly they had heard of the trouble which Lyford and Oldham had caused in the Plymouth Colony. Thomas Morton's actions at Wollaston could not have been unknown to them. Due laws and punishments for such men were to be sternly enforced. We find but one fact which seems in the least contrary to this general idea, and that was probably due to their desire to obtain a goodly number of colonists. They seem to have made in the beginning no laws against the admission of distasteful persons, and consequently had to deal with such after they had obtained a more or less stable position in the colony. But the Company had no doubt that, under the clause in the charter above mentioned, they would be able to dispose of such malcontents or intruders in a peremptory manner.

Digitized by Google

The deep religious spirit of the leaders was accompanied by what a late writer describes as "the awful sincerity of their purpose." By this they were saved from many disasters which would otherwise have been inevitable. They turned to the fountain of religious teaching not only for principles to guide their daily life, but for the laws to govern a state. It is curious to note that their greatest severities were visited upon those who were actuated by a deep religious purpose in a contrary direction. In this we have an impressive example of Greek meeting Greek.

We have endeavored, while exhibiting the character of the early inhabitants, to keep in mind that we were speaking of the *leaders*. We must not be led into the idea that *all* who came over with Winthrop or Endicott had such high purposes and feelings. If it had been so, comparatively little attentention would have been paid to those "dangerous opinions" which required so much legislation during the first thirty years of the Colony. There were doubtless many who came over with a desire for gain; and many of those who came to find a religious home were of that class upon whose superstitious minds religious enthusiasts and seditionists most easily work. It was for these that the magistrates feared. Winthrop was in no danger of losing sight of the original purpose of the colony; neither were Endicott, Wilson, and many whose shining virtues have led a high foreign authority to designate the early settlers of Massachusetts as "the most remarkable body of men which the world has ever produced." No, none of the "new and dangerous opinions" could move their firm spirits. It was for the men who had no direct interest in the Colony, but the presence of numbers of whom was absolutely necessary for its perpetuity, that the magistrates had fear. They wished to keep the Bible and the Church always in direct connection with the State. Nothing must come between. They would rather have the laws of the Bible which had been laid down by Almighty God, with whom their inmost desire was to form a close covenant, than any which they themselves could make.

Digitized by Google

This appears in the fact that, for a long time after their settlement, they formed nothing like a code of laws. And when after a long delay they were at last obliged to form the "body of liberties," their former ideas filled it with Old Testament texts. They were continually asking the advice of the ministers, and many a "Thursday Lecture" was given to the discussion of some momentous question relating to the good of the Colony.

We may say, indeed, that the Puritans believed that the State ought to control the thought of its inhabitants. But, as it was impossible to reach the opinions of men, except through their actions and sayings, they took the utmost care that disagreeable deeds and sayings should not be allowed to exist and influence the minds of the members of their colony. They knew that their undertaking was a dangerous experiment. They had seen the partially or entirely unsuccessful attempts which had been made to plant colonies in this country. They had before them the examples of Virginia, Maine, and the dubious hopes of the Plymouth Colony. The leaders had many of them staked their life's happiness upon the successful consummation of their undertaking. They confidently believed, that, if the principles of their "theocracy," were carried out, their hopes would be fulfilled. Can we blame them then for exercising the greatest care that "a right mind" should be in all the colonists? Or can we blame them for apprehending and fully preparing for all possible perils? It is true that they were mistaken in some, even many things. We know that they were mistaken in supposing that a government which so closely allied Church and State could succeed. We know that many of the severities which they practiced were entirely uncalled for. We know courses of procedure which would have been effectual, without the exercise of such severity, in producing what the Magistrates desired. We of the nineteenth century can do all this. But could we of the seventeenth century have done it?

It is indeed necessary to place ourselves in the light, or, as a careful writer has suggested, under the darkness of

Digitized by Google

those times. We are Puritans. We are good subjects of England. We idolize our religion, and cannot conform to the many formalities of the English Church. We long for a place where we can worship our God in the simple Puritan fashion. The court party, the hierarchy, and the newly formed party of Arminians are our opponents, and are daily becoming more hostile. We see no hope of peace of mind in England, and we turn our eyes toward New England. Here is the chance we have been eager to find—to begin a state where the very ground upon which we are shall be cleared and tilled by Puritan hands. We have heard that John Endicott, whom we know to be a staunch Puritan, and a very virtuous gentleman, has been sent over, and the reports of his work in the new country have been most favorable. Perhaps we have had a hand in his nomination. The charter has been obtained. Mr. Cradock has proposed to transfer it and the government to the colonists in New England. We decide to lend our hands to the cause which we hope will prosper. We join the company, and pledge to transport ourselves beyond the sea. We come together with our brethren to make final preparations for departure. By what code of laws shall we be governed? We will have for our guide, for our code of laws, the Bible. Who can make better laws than God? We have seen some of the many books which relate to, and give the doctrines of the Quakers, Ranters, Seekers, Anabaptists, and the like. We have seen accounts of the punishment—well-deserved—inflicted upon them. We have seen how their vagaries have tormented the English authorities. And we have realized the impossibility of having harmony while each person is allowed to express his or her own private opinion. Difference of opinion forms parties, and parties are now almost revolutionizing England. Yes, the stable government of England, which has existed for so many centuries, and which we love, as our mother-country, with all our hearts, has been continually unsettled by political parties and religious enthusiasts. In our new government, which must at first be weak, but, being a theocracy, is built upon a

Digitized by Google

sure foundation,—in our new State shall we have any clashing parties? Shall we allow any of those accursed men who set themselves above God's Bible with their inward illuminations and revelations, to exist in our new State? Unbiased seeker for the truth, judge.

And now, having obtained an insight into the principal aims and purposes of the founders of tne Massachusetts Bay Colony, let us revert to the history.

Winthrop's party left Yarmouth, England, on the seventh of April, 1630. Their "Humble Request," addressed to the "Rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England," shows their deep feeling of anxiety and regret at parting with their Country and mother Church, then in such a ferment. The Governor wrote, while on this voyage, the "Model of Christian Charity," of which Dr. Ellis says: "For tenderness and devoutness of tone, for gentleness and serenity of spirit, and for loftiness of self-consecration to unselfish, self-sacrificing aims, it will be difficult to find any like composition with which to compare it." Winthrop also found time to keep a minutely detailed journal of the voyage.

The party arrived in Salem on June 12, after a nine weeks' voyage. The number of those who came in this party, including those who came shortly afterward, Dr. Palfrey estimates at one thousand. They found that the colony, which they probably expected to find prosperous, had seen some very dark days. More than a quarter of its inhabitants had died, and many were now ill. But Winthrop did not despair. He explored the country round about, made Charlestown the capital town, and cheered on his men to hard work by his own example. In Charlestown, on the 30th of July, 1630, was founded what we now know as the First Church of Boston. Here, too, on the 30th of August, met the first Court of Assistants held on this side of the water. We are not surprised, knowing the religious character of these men, to read as the first entry on the colony's records:—"Imprimis. It was propounded how ministers should be maintained." The action taken upon this subject fully provided for their maintenance.

Digitized by Google

The Colony did not at first seem to prosper. Sickness broke out, and death soon removed many of the most honored of the company. The epidemic which prevailed at Charlestown was ascribed to the want of good water. Finding a good supply on the other side of the Charles, they removed to Boston, where a General Court was held on the 19th of October. And from this time the seat of government was at Boston.

A detailed account of the treatment of intruders will not be necessary to our purpose. To cite a few of the many cases will be sufficient.

We may perhaps mention as the first example of "Puritan intolerance," the treatment, by Endicott, of John and Samuel Brown, who refused to give up the forms of the English Church. But the first serious trouble was with Roger Williams.

Williams arrived in Boston early in 1631. Coming at the time when Wilson, the teacher of the First Church, was in England, Williams was invited to take his place. He says that he refused to accept, because the members of the congregation would not confess that they had sinned in communing with the Church of England. The Salem Church, however, received him as their teacher, thereby incurring the disapprobation of the Court. Williams remained at Salem the larger part of a year, when "he withdrew to the more benignant atmosphere of the Plymouth Colony." In 1633 or 1634 he returned to Salem, but was not immediately installed in his old position, although it is evident that the Salem congregation often enjoyed his gifts of "prophecy." His first protest after his return was against the weekly social meetings of ministers, as tending toward a presbytery, which would "prejudice the Church's liberties." But as this did no public harm, no notice was taken of it. While at Plymouth, he had written a paper, questioning the claim of the Massachusetts Colony to the land which it occupied. When called to account for this before the magistrates, he professed penitence. This is the only time on record in his public life that he ever retracted.

Digitized by Google

The ground which Mr. Williams took in this case was particularly dangerous to the Colony at this time. For their prospects of being able to satisfactorily answer the pending charges from England were far from sure; while only a few months before, the doings of the colony had been called before the Privy Council. And though those who plead for the Colony had come off with flying colors, it would hardly do to have such charges brought before the government at home many times.

But the Salem church still cherished its old love for Williams. He was again called, in direct opposition to the wish of the Court, to be teacher at Salem. Here he made himself so offensive to the magistrates, that they finally issued sentence of banishment against him. The charge they found was that he had "broached and divulged divers new and dangerous opinions against the authority of the magistrates," and had written letters defaming the church and government. In the wording of this charge we see what the Magistrates considered dangerous, and how anxious they were that the freemen should be "bound together as one man." They were also endeavoring to have the body of freemen composed of the best material in the State. On the 18th of October, 1631, the General Court had passed an order which stands on the records as follows: "And to the end (that) the body of commons may be well preserved of honest and good men, it was ordered and agreed that, for time to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." A very radical change in the character of the government was made in 1634, by the introduction of the representative system. The Fifth General Court, held in Boston on the 14th of May, 1634, was composed of twenty-four delegates, three from each of the eight towns of the colony.

The trouble which the Colonists had had with Roger Williams was small indeed compared to that with the sect called Antinomians which grew up in the Boston church. It is one of the many forms of heresy which to us would be

Digitized by Google

harmless, sometimes laughable, but which seemed to the Puritan the worst possible enemies of their success. Growing up within the church, its converts do not come under the class of intruders. For the same reason, a consideration of the troubles with the Anabaptists and the Salem witches does not enter into the question of this essay. But the same rigid intolerance, the same primitive and repulsive methods of punishment were visited, more or less harshly, upon all whose presence or opinions were likely to endanger the concord of the Colonists.

The coming of the Quakers was to put the policy of the magistrates to a final test, and to teach these stern old Puritans that their methods were not all the best. Here, again, we must go back two centuries and more, and not allow ourselves to understand by "Quakers" the like of those who live among us now under that name, and whose gentle virtues and modest philanthropy cannot but excite our warmest admiration. We do not mind their little eccentricities of speech and dress and manner, when we think of their good qualities. The Quakers with whom the Massachusetts Company had to deal were of a far different sort. Indeed, the qualities which the Puritans condemned, and which they considered most threatening to the welfare of their enterprise—the desire to publicly express the "inner light" and revelation, the contempt of all law and order, the public denunciations of magistrates and ministers—how different are these from the traits which distinguish "*our*" Quakers of to-day. At the same time the beautiful spirit which the *majority* of the Quakers possessed in the 17th century—as shown in their words spoken on the gallows, and their letters written in prison—was unnoticed by the Magistrates in their anxiety and alarm.

There is another element which we must not leave out of consideration. The colonists had continually received warnings from England to be on their guard against this sect. President Dunster of the College had received a letter from England containing such sentences as these: "A sect called

Digitized by Google

Quakers do continue railing much at the ministry and refusing to show any reverence to the magistrates. We hope they will be confounded and ashamed of their tenets; but I could desire that some stricter course were taken than is." This is only a sample of the warnings which were continually coming to the Puritans. "The Boston Magistrates," says Dr. Ellis, "well-informed about the notions and doings of the 'Ranters' in the mother country, dreaded a visit from them with as much dismay as that which apprehended the coming hither of the cholera." Two weeks before the arrival of the first Quakers in Boston, a Fast day had been observed in fear of them among other troubles.

Two women, Ann Austin and Mary Fisher, were the first Quakers to feel the heavy hand of the Puritan policy. They were brought to Boston from Barbadoes about the 1st of July, 1656, on a ship commanded by Simon Kempthorn. The Boston authorities, on learning of their arrival sent officers to seize them and to search their trunks. Finding about one hundred Quaker books, the Court passed three orders to the following effect.

First, that the books found be burned by the public executioners.

Second, that the women be kept in the goal until their removal.

Third, Simon Kempthorn was to give security of one hundred pounds for their sure removal. Nicholas Upsall, an aged citizen of Boston, was interested in behalf of the Quakers, and during the time they remained in Boston gaol, supplied them with food "lest they should be starved." The intruders were sent back to Barbadoes at the end of five weeks.

Scarcely had they left when a vessel arrived from England bearing eight Quakers. They were seized and put into the gaol. When called before the magistrates, they used the most opprobrious language imaginable, and one of them, Mary Prince, when taken to Endicott's house for a conference with two ministers, denounced them as "hirelings,"

Digitized by Google

"seed of the serpent," "Baal's priests," etc. These were sent away after eleven weeks confinement.

Thus far there had been no special legislation against these intruders. But, on September 17, 1656, at a meeting of the Federal Commissioners of the United Colonies, it was resolved to "propose to the several General Courts, that all Quakers, Ranters, and other notorious heretics should be prohibited from coming into the United Colonies; and, if any should hereafter come or arise, that they should be forthwith secured, and removed out of all the jurisdictions." This suggestion was adopted by Connecticut and New Haven, and by Plymouth, which next to Massachusetts, was the most pestered of all the New England Colonies. Though all of these colonies were separate from Massachusetts at the time of which we speak, and a discussion of their policies does not form a part of the subject in hand, we may say that the same general idea pervaded all the New England Colonies, except, perhaps, Rhode Island. "But," says Palfrey, "among the Colonies of New England it is the unhappy distinction of the chartered—and therefore at once more self-confident and more endangered—Colony of Massachusetts, to have been the only one in which the Quakers who refused to absent themselves were condemned to die."

The General Court of Massachusetts, meeting on the 14th of October, 1656, passed their first special law against Quakers. This law, made "to prevent the like mischief as by them was wrought in their native land," ordered that any shipmaster bringing Quakers into the jurisdiction, should be fined one hundred pounds, and should give security for returning such persons to the place from which they came. Quakers coming into the Colony were to be whipped and closely imprisoned. Any one who imported, circulated, or concealed a Quaker book was liable to a fine of five pounds. Persons defending Quakers should be punished. "What person or persons soever shall revile the office or person of magistrates or ministers as is usual with Quakers, such person or persons shall be severely whipped, or pay the sum of five

Digitized by Google

pounds." Nicholas Upsall was the first to suffer after this, though in view of his past sympathy with the Quakers, and other offences, his punishment was harsher than that prescribed in the law. He was fined twenty pounds and banished for expressing sympathy for the Quakers and speaking against the law, when it was published through the town by beat of drum.

The first Quakers to suffer under this law were Ann Burden and Mary Dyer. They arrived in Boston shortly after the law was passed. After two or three months imprisonment, Ann Burden was sent back to England; and Mary Dyer was returned to her family in Rhode Island. Mary Clark left her husband and six children in England, "that she might warn these persecutors to desist from their iniquity." She arrived in Boston, delivered her message, and, after twelve weeks imprisonment, was sent away. Next Holder, one of the eight who had been sent away in the previous year, reappeared in Salem, and "spoke a few words in meeting after the priest was done." What the character of these few words was, may be judged from the treatment they called forth from the magistrates. He was forcibly made to desist from speaking, and was "had to Boston" on the next day, where he received thirty stripes, and sentence to nine weeks' imprisonment. But he continued his disturbances and finally lost his right ear in punishment.

The law against Quakers was amended, on Oct. 14, 1657, by adding penalties against entertaining them, and providing that those of the sect who returned after being banished, should have one ear cut off; and that, returning again and again, "they should have their tongues thrust out with a red hot iron." The first of these mutilations was inflicted upon three men at the same time, one of whom was the Christopher Holder, of whom we have just spoken. The other was never inflicted.

It would not aid the purpose of this essay to follow minutely each case of punishment. We have already seen the treatment which the policy and belief of the Magistrates

Digitized by Google

made necessary. Four Quakers suffered death under the law passed in 1658. Banishing on pain of death was by no means an unusual act for the authorities of Massachusetts. They had passed similar orders before, and by these, had never failed to accomplish their purpose. "The object of this severity," says Bancroft, "was not to persecute, but exclude them." The Magistrates never persecuted for the sake of persecution. If the law of 1656 had been enough to exclude the Quakers, the Puritans would have been content. But they held to their right to expel all persons by any means which they, judging from the standard of their times, considered fitting.

The Magistrates certainly desired the death of no one. John Endicott's stern voice was faint, speaking "as a man whose life was departing from him," when he pronounced sentence of death against Robinson, Stevenson, and Mary Dyer, who had returned after being banished. He had told them that he did not desire their death. But they, glad to be offered up for their religion, were led to the gallows, "walking hand in hand." The two men were executed and buried beneath the gallows. But a timely reprieve saved Mary Dyer.

The undaunted courage, and perfect sincerity of these people had procured them many friends, if not converts, among the colonists. These were greatly opposed to the law against the Quakers. The Court, feeling embarrassed in its position, caused to be published two pamphlets containing "declarations which had been presented to vindicate the justice of the proceedings." Citing the pardon of Mrs. Dyer, one of them shows that the magistrates would rather have "their life absent than their death present." The magistrates probably thought that before the final moment was reached, the Quakers would yield, and *vice versa;* but both parties,—one led on by the folly of religious fanaticism, the other practicing that harsh policy which it had not yet learned to modify—persisted to the end. We can but think that, if the gentle author of "A Model of Christian Charity" had lived,

Digitized by Google

the deaths of these innocent people would never have stained the pages of Massachusetts history.

Mary Dyer could not rest. She was "moved" to return to Boston. Her husband wrote to Endicott begging that she might again be released. But the request could not be granted. At her trial all possible chance was given her to escape death. Even on the gallows she was told that she might have her life if she would but promise to leave Massachusetts. But she refused to accept her deliverance on those terms. Her last words were "In obedience to the will of the Lord I came, and in his will I abide faithful to the death."

Humanity had now nearly conquered the Magistrates. The sacrifice of one more victim made it triumphant. The Magistrates were loath to put another to death. They allowed many offenders to escape. But William Leddra must die before they could learn the lesson of forbearance. After being found guilty of disturbing the churches at Salem and Newbury, this man was banished on pain of death. Returning, he was offered his life if he would but go to England. He refused, and was condemned and executed.

Winlock Christison was the next under trial. But despite the fact that his offences were most outrageous, he was condemned by only a bare majority of the Court. But he was not destined to die. Before the day of execution, he addressed a letter to the Court, saying that he had "found freedom to depart if he should be allowed his liberty." The Magistrates were glad to release him.

From this time, the severity toward the Quaker was gradually relaxed. The Court was not ready for such a decisive step as repealing the law making persistent intrusion a capital crime. But it passed laws with less harsh penalties, many of which were never inflicted.

Two jail deliveries were ordered, one in October, 1660, and one in June, 1661. Whether or no the "king's missive" had any effect upon the Magistrates is still a disputed point among the best authorities. But it is evident that the Puritans had learned that their thirty or more years of life

Digitized by Google

together here had placed their government on such a foundation that dissent could not easily overthrow it.

For a time after the decrease of severity on the part of the Magistrates, the antics of the Quakers became more absurd than ever. But they soon lost the desire to make public their "inner light." As they were given more freedom of action, their actions became less free. The example of Penn was soon to make a change in Quaker customs throughout the world.

And now, what more shall we say about the policy of the early colonists? Could any other policy be expected from those who believed as the Puritans did, and had staked all upon the success of the Colony here? Viewed in the light of these after times, their harsh policy was certainly unwise and useless. Viewed in the light of any times they must be censured for having allowed four of the thirty Quakers, upon whom they inflicted punishments, to suffer death.

We have named many excuses for the conduct of the early Colonists of Massachusetts, in considering their aims and purposes. We have more than once mentioned the complete power to expel intruders and dissenters given them by their charter. Why, then, should they be expected to harbor *any* wilfully disagreeable person? With the exception of Roger Williams, those who provoked their severity claimed to be possessed of that "inner light" which the Colonists considered most dangerous to the welfare of their Colony. Their danger was real, though over-estimated. They have been censured most because their severities were practiced upon those whose lives, however offensive their heresies may have been, were pure and chaste. It is hard, indeed, to give arbitrary judgment as to the comparative right and wrong of both parties. Each was under a delusion. Each was perfectly sincere. Each had a most powerful will. The contest was between these strong wills. It is to the credit of the Puritans that they were the first to yield.

Digitized by Google

Article XXI.

The Restoration of Humanity.

I do not consider the agitation for a change in the Winchester Profession of Faith to be either a harmful or a trivial one. It involves questions of exceeding importance and which have not received from us sufficient attention and investigation. If this agitation be not stifled by a compromise, it must result in this decided benefit to our church: a clear comprehension of important Christian doctrines.

There are a number of irrelevant and diverting questions that have arisen in the agitation which ought not to enter it at all. The objection to all change, which is felt so strongly by certain minds because of their reverence for the fathers and their work, should not be allowed. Each man's work must stand on its own merits, and the work of our church fathers cannot be exempted from the common test. It should stand on reasons, or should be put aside. Then there is the natural uneasiness under all the inherited opinions of the past, which independent minds are apt to feel. But we should not reject the opinions of the fathers simply because they are such. It is barely possible that our church fathers believed some things that were true in their day, and are as true in ours. The appeal should be to the reasons involved in the premises. If any expression in our Profession cannot abide the test of discussion on its merits it should be changed; if it can, it should be retained even if the fathers formed it.

Another question that has arisen in this agitation is that of conflict with conscience. It has been said that the expression, "restore the whole family of mankind to holiness and happiness" may express truth to some of our people, but expresses an error to others, and so it should be changed in order that a form may be adopted upon which all could stand without offence to conscience. It is perfectly apparent that the simple statement by any body of men that a certain expression is offensive to their consciences should not be sufficient

Digitized by Google

reason for changing our Profession of Faith. The plea of conflict with conscience should be allowed only under certain conditions. It should not apply to statements of essential doctrines; we are not called upon to destroy the integrity of our faith to please any body of men who happen to be connected with us. Then the conflict must be an undoubted conflict; if any one declares that a conflict exists, he should be required to show wherein. His word cannot be taken without adequate reasons. It may be that the matter has not been sufficiently investigated; certain terms may have been misunderstood or over-looked, which will explain away the conflict when their just meaning is allowed. The discussion of reasons should reveal the existence of a conflict, or it should not be urged as reason for a change.

Then after discussion it may be said, "We hold to our first opinion in spite of the discussion; the expression is obnoxious, and should be changed to avoid our unalterable objection, and to give us one we can all receive." This position ignores utterly the reasons for the change, and may be held as tenaciously by a man who has no reasons to give as by one who has all needful reasons. It is the attitude of one who, having entered the lists for the prize claims it in spite of the issue; who, having submitted his case to the court, demands the verdict regardless of evidence and argument. The expression in debate has been assailed, first, as teaching an error in doctrine; second, as offensive to the consciences of many of our people. These are the reasons to be examined. If they will bear examination the expression should be changed; if not, it should be retained. We are not to make changes in even the least important parts of our church organization,—such as our By-Laws or Rules of Order—without sufficient reason. How much greater reason should we demand before changing that most fundamental thing in our organic life: the Profession of Faith, which has been passed upon by all our State Conventions, adopted by nearly all our parishes, and subscribed to by every minister in our church.

In examing the meaning of the terms "restore to holiness

Digitized by Google

and happiness," the term "restore" first demands attention. It means to return to some former state or condition; and is always used with respect to some certain particular. Restoration in all particulars is an utter impossibility, as changes are constantly taking place which forbid the exact reproduction of any past state or condition. It is used with reference to some general attribute, which underlies the many incidents of life. For instance, a man is restored to health, though he lost it in his infancy. The general term health may be predicated of all stages of man's physical being; and when we speak of his restoration to health, we are not understood as implying a return to age, stature, or any other incident of his life except the one thing health. So when we speak of man's restoration to holiness and happiness we have only these two particulars in mind, and must not be held to imply either that man is to be returned to a condition of weakness, ignorance, and innocency, or that his primal condition was the same as his final condition in respect to strength, wisdom, and virtue. If holiness and happiness are general terms applicable to all stages of man's life from his birth into life to his perfection in heaven, then we may properly speak of his being restored to them; though in respect to all other things, age, experience, strength, wisdom, and goodness, he may have undergone many and marked changes.

The meaning of the word "holiness" is often confounded with that of righteousness, while the two belong to entirely different lines of thought. Righteousness has a moral meaning, signifying habitual obedience to a moral law; while holiness is a religious term. Its source is in the Bible. There it almost invariably means sacredness to God; and is applicable to places, times, and things, as well as persons. The adjective holy occurs 479 times in the Bible, and in all cases save 12 signifies sacredness to God. It is applied to the ground, to certain days of the week, to the oils and ointments used in religious service, to the vestments of the priests, to the water used in the sacrifices, to the sacrifices themselves, to the temple etc. etc. This usage, which distinguishes the

Digitized by Google

word from the word righteousness, springs from the Biblical idea that all things belong to God, are sacred to His purposes, and must be used to serve them. So whenever anything was spoken of in this relation, it was spoken of as holy. The word when applied to man, has the same significance. Man is holy because he is made in God's image, a spiritual temple created for God's worship, in the very constitution of his being formed for the service of God, and destined to the fulfilment of the Divine Will. In the same sense in which the temple is spoken of as holy, man is spoken of as holy. This Biblical usage of the term has determined its use in theology; and any other meaning is not only a perversion of its original and natural meaning, but springs from a confusion as to the field of thought in which it should be employed.

There is this broad distinction which every one must feel between the use of the word as applied to man and as applied to other things: man is a moral being, having a moral nature, capable of growth in character. Holiness in a developed human soul is accompanied by righteousness; but it must be observed that righteousness is not identical with it, but associated with it through the development of the will. Human nature devoted as it is to the purpose of God, is holy even before the dawn of character. With the rise of perception, thought, emotion, and will, if the man's nature still remained sacred to God's purpose in this growth of its energies, he grows in holiness, and becomes righteous in character as well; but his nature retains its former and fundamental relation to its Divine Creator. Just as health in a man is accompanied by strength, so holiness in a man is accompanied by righteousness; though health in a babe is without strength, as holiness in a babe is without righteousness. The holy child Jesus cannot be said to have been righteous. In this expression the word is true to its common meaning.

With this explanation of terms we will consider some of the doctrines involved in the discussion. *The original nature of man* is one. Turning to the teachings of the Bible, we read in the first chapters of Genesis that man was made in

Digitized by Google

the image of God. All through the Bible we find that man is God's child by virtue of his very nature, that he is destined to God's service, organized for obedience, made for a dweller in God's home. God showed Moses the pattern of the temple to typify the temple in the soul of man, the rites and ceremonies to typify the natural service of man's spirit, and the moral law to meet the needs of man's moral nature. Jesus declared the near relationship between God and man in their spiritual being, made worship and religion exercises of man's spiritual being, and perfected morality by declaring it to be the right activity of man's spiritual energies. He declared that children in their purity were members of his kingdom, which in effect is to declare that man is a citizen of that kingdom by birthright and not by adoption.

This thought has been in the minds of Christian thinkers from the very beginning. The early church fathers believed that man started pure aud innocent, but without virtue. Clement of Alexandria "maintained that Adam was created perfect, not in respect to moral excellencies, but in respect to his capacity of receiving virtue." So careful were the early fathers to disclaim man's original possession of moral excellences that they discriminated between the image of God and likeness unto Him. The doctrine of original righteousness was not held till the time of Augustine [353–430 A.D.] and not formulated till the time of Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century. Even during this period there were many who clung to the Christian idea that man was created only in the image of God, and not perfect in righteousness.

At the present day there are certain misconceptions of this doctrine of the original nature of man, which I wish to name at this point. First, it is thought that man started but half-equipped with the elements of his essential being, and that others have come to him on the road. But this contradicts not only the teachings of Scripture which represent man's nature as the image of God, but the law of destiny which requires that organization shall be prophetic of its growth, the law of education which demands the presence of the

Digitized by Google

powers to be drawn out, and the fundamental position of the doctrine of evolution, that nothing in a species can be evolved from it which is not involved in it. Second, the misconception that because man started low down in the scale of moral growth, his first estate was one of sin. Man may not have been observant of the highest moral laws in his early life, but we must not suppose that he started with a nature specially fitted for hostility to God's will. Quite the contrary, man had faculties given him to discern the truth and his duties involved therein. His nature was created for obedience, and sin was only a possibility to which the soul was liable from its weakness; as a tumble is a liability in a child's attempt to walk, and not the natural function of the limbs. As the locomotory muscles were given man to walk uprightly and not to tumble him in the dust; so the faculties of the soul were given man to enable him to obey God's will, and not to commit sin. In the original constitution of man's moral being, he was destined for God's service; "Holiness unto the Lord" was the inherent law of his being from the very beginning.

There is a certain doctrine held by Christian thinkers which denies this, and which is to be the only important antagonist of Universalism in the near future, the doctrine of Conditional Immortality. This doctrine teaches that the human soul is mortal, and that immortality is obtained on condition of adopting the life of Jesus. We have said that this doctrine is to be our only antagonist in the near future. Universalism has always stood on the ground that man is an inalienable child of God; that he cannot be lost forever, because the features of the Eternal God are imperishably stamped upon his soul, because the germ of immortal life is born in every child of humanity; and, while it may be injured in its growth by sin, it cannot be destroyed. Universalism has always taught that the soul of man is the temple of God, fit for His worship and indwelling, holy to Him and His service; that there is a spirit in man like the spirit of God, answering to the influence of that spirit, and capable of

Digitized by Google

growing into perfected likeness unto it. If now we are to call in question this past attitude of our church, and deny the attribute of holiness to human nature, we are to lay ourselves open to the successful attack of the believers in Conditional Immortality, and surrender the ground on which we have gained our victories for the doctrine of Universal salvation. We are not to claim that man had a perfected moral nature; but we are to affirm that the beginnings of moral life were in him from the start, that he had a spiritual being akin to the spiritual being of God, that by virtue of this being he is the holy temple of God's spirit, and by its influence is to become perfect as God is perfect.

We come now to *the doctrine of sin.* Most Christian thinkers have been and are agreed as to its nature, as an act of the will in conscious violation of the will and law of God. The effects of sin are a subject that has divided the thinkers of the Christian world, and that still divides them. The early church fathers regarded it as a fall, and in its effects injuring the natural powers of man's being, moral, mental, and physical. The extent of the injury was variously estimated. It awaited the dark times of Mediævalism to become a fatal injury, and the plunge of the soul into total depravity. Since then the minds of men have slowly felt their way out of this gloomy view of human nature, and toward the view of the earliest Christian thinkers.

As an act of the will in violation of the will of God, it puts man in discord with the laws of God in the moral universe, the laws of the natural universe, and the laws of man's own moral, mental, and physical being. In its relation to the nature of man it may be said to be an influence hostile to its natural growth, not only dwarfing his powers, but degrading and corrupting them, being to the soul precisely what disease is to the body. In respect to its bearing on God's purpose with man, it may be said to divert him from the true path of that purpose, delaying him in his journey along it, and as long as it exists in his soul preventing his attainment of the goal. In respect tohis relations to God it may be said to be a disturbance of them.

Digitized by Google

There are views of sin that do not allow that it is an injury done the soul and its relations. One is a confused idea that man's primal condition was morally miserable from which he has been gradually working his way upward. The other is, that sin is no injury but rather a benefit, opening the eyes of the conscience, becoming the occasion of greater strength and skill in moral living. Only to state these positions is to show their utter conflict with the teachings of the Bible and of common experience.

The third doctrine involved in this discussion is *the doctrine of salvation.* Upon this there have been and are three principal positions taken: First, that as sin totally depraved the human race, making it unable of itself to return to God, it is to be restored by God's recreative power and grace to its primæval perfection; second, that as God planted the germs of its perfect nature in the soul, salvation is nothing but education; the third position is, that as God made man in His own image, weak and ungrown, and liable to sin, as man fell into sin, wandering from his appointed pathway, perverting the natural relations of his life, salvation consists in the restoration of the nature to its purity and proper relations.

This position has been substantially held by all Universalists since the days of Murray. In regard to man's original nature, they have avoided the Calvinistic dogma of original righteousnoss on the one side and of original degradation on the other, teaching that man was originally the type and germ of what he is to become. In regard to the effects of sin they have avoided the dogma of total depravity on the one hand and of the blessedness or harmlessness of sin on the other, teaching that sin is a fall and an injury done the soul and its relations. In regard to salvation they have avoided on the one hand the idea of a complete change of nature, and on the other of mere education, holding that human nature must first be restored to its purity and proper relations and then educated to its utmost perfection.

Having made a survey of the doctrines involved in the discussion, we will now examine the question of the retention

Digitized by Google

or change of the terms "restore to holiness and happiness." It is said that they teach the dogmas of original righteousness and the fall therefrom. It is said that they teach that man's destiny is that he shall he returned to the point whence he started. To show the fallacy of this statement let us take an illustration. A person is taken sick in childhood, and lives in his disease until middle age, when he is restored to health. No one considers that this restoration to health implies a return to the stature, weakness, and inexperience of childhood. So when we speak of man's restoration to holiness, we are not to be understood to mean his return to the primal identical condition of his nature in all respects.

But it is said man was not holy nor happy in any respect. This is a mistake. Before man sinned he was sacred to the purpose of God, a member of the kingdom of God by his birthright, and if he could have been kept from sin would have grown to perfection in that kingdom. Sin injured his nature, and defiled the holiness of his being. The use of the word holiness is significant in this connection. The Bible deals with God, and with all things as belonging to Him; it deals with man as related to Him; and man's proper and fundamental relation is holiness unto the Lord. It is an especially fitting word to use whenever the doctrine of sin is touched upon. Sin is a disturbance of man's fundamental relation to the will of God; that is, man's holiness is the thing defiled. It is to that then that man must be restored.

But it is objected that simple restoration to holiness in the sense implied, does not fully describe man's destiny. It may be replied that it describes it quite as fully as the word save which means to free from sin, and which may apply to man anywhere along the line of progress. If we examine the phrase "restore to holiness" we shall find that it contains a more positive meaning than the negative one of save. If we speak of the restoration of a man to health we mean that the man's whole physical being is healthy; that is, the organs, powers, and functions of the man are healthy. So when we speak of the "restoration of the human family to holiness,"

Digitized by Google

we have in mind the re-dedication of the human family with all its acquired experience, wisdom, and virtue to the service of God. Salvation from sin is but a part, sacredness to God is the vaster whole. St. Paul in 1 Cor. xv. 24–28, declares that the end cometh when Christ shall have abolished all rule, authority, and power, destroyed all enemies, and subjected all things to God. What vaster progress lies beyond the subjection of the human family to the will of God we are not told.

The words "restore to holiness and happiness" are preferable to the word "save" in these several particulars. First, they imply that man had an original moral nature to whose lost relations he is to be restored; second, they describe the fundamental relation of that nature as one sacred to God; third, they carry the idea that sin injured and defiled this relation; fourth, they involve the proper treatment of sin in the attainment of destiny; and fifth, they add the positive element of subjection to the Divine Will. These words are pregnant with the Christian thought of nineteen centuries. It may be the men who wrote our Profession did not comprehend their full meaning; but who realizes the full meaning of any general term in use? History empties itself into words; and we use them unheedingly, as a child might play with the heirloom of some ancient family.

There is one consideration that seems especially worthy of notice making against the change contemplated. We are required to give up the terms "restore to holiness" in the face of an attack upon them, we are to yield to an objection to the doctrines of man's original holiness, of the fall therefrom, and the restoration thereto. The reason alleged for this objection is that the terms in debate describe doctrines of Calvinism that are false; original righteousness and the fall therefrom. But far back of Calvinism stands a doctrine concerning the original nature of man of which that of original righteousness is a monstrous perversion, and a doctrine of the fall of which Calvin's idea is an exaggeration. There are great historic truths lying in the consciousness of

Digitized by Google

the Christian ages which form the members and body of Christian doctrine. These truths were pure though ungrown in the early ages. With the corruption of Christianity they became corrupted and their growth distorted; and these corruptions and distortions remain until to-day. The business of the Universalist church is to re-interpret these truths, and announce them in their natural proportions. But this agitation for change demands that two of these great doctrines be cut away from the body altogether, and because they have been distorted. We have not given up the doctrine of the atonement, because that has been misunderstood and misrepresented, nor that of forgiveness, nor that of judgment, nor that of punishment. We have held firmly to the great historic truths of Christianity and endeavored to purify them from their misconceptions. There is a sense in which God made man holy, and that sense is essential to our defence of our distinctive doctrine; there is a sense in which sin is a fall, and that too is essential to the defence of the truth; there is a sense in which humanity is to be restored to its lost relation of holiness, and that sense is the vital element in the doctrine of salvation. We are not to surrender these truths; we shall need them in our future work. Men are breaking away from the old faiths, and not only are giving up their hold on the errors that have corrupted the pure truths of Christianity, but in their haste are missing the truths concealed beneath the errors. Some church must stand by these truths in their purity, and serve as a rallying point for the gathering together of the wanderers. Shall we join in these departures? Shall we not rather stand on the historic ground of Christian truth, and to ourselves call these men back? Shall we take from our coming scholars the immense advantage there is to them in having a position which shall enable them to look back on all the centuries of Christian thought, and discern the truth working its way down toward the present through the lives and minds of the ages? Rather let us leave them the principles that shall interpret the progress of Christian doctrine.

Digitized by Google

ARTICLE XXII.

"*The Celestial Earth*" *of the Ancients.*[1]

ON the passage in Isaiah:—"Behold, I create a new heavens and a new earth" (Is. lxv., 17); Dr. Gesenius has the following comment:—

"As the overthrow of great States is compared to the destruction of the entire Kosmos, and as, generally, political convulsions are represented as natural revolutions (cf. ch. xiii., 13, etc.); so here the renewal of States, and the foundation of the new ideal Jerusalem, is represented as the creation of a new heavens and a new earth (cf. ch. li., 16; lxvi., 22). The same occurs in Rev. xxi., 1; etc."[2]

Bish. Lowth, also, in his notes upon the description of the fall of Babylon (Is. ch. xiii.), adopts generally the same principle of interpretation—

"The Hebrew poets, to express happiness, prosperity the instauration and advancement of States, kingdoms and potentates, make use of images taken from the most striking parts of nature—from the heavenly bodies, from the sun, moon, and stars, which they describe as shining with increased splendor, and as never setting; the moon becomes like the meridian sun, and the sun's light is augmented seven-fold (cf. Is. xxx., 26); new heavens and a new earth are created, and a brighter age commences. On the contrary, the overthrow and destruction of kingdoms is represented by opposite images; the stars are obscured, the moon withdraws her light, and the sun shines no more; the earth quakes, and the heavens tremble; and all things seem tending to their original chaos. See Joel, ii., 10; iii., 15, 16; Amos viii., 9; Math. xxiv., 29, etc."[3]

[1] ERRATA. In the article on *Μέλλω*, in the April number of the *Quarterly*, make the following corrections:—Instead of the misprint *judicatus est*, p. 204, (*d*), and p. 205, (g), read *judicaturus est*. So, also, *paratus est*, p. 205, (h), is not a periphrastic future, as stated, the terminations *tus* and *rus* being confounded by oversight. But the sense is correctly given in each instance. Other errors occur but they are of less consequence.

[2] Gesenius' Jesaia. Notes *in loco*. [3] Lowth. Notes on Isaiah, ch. xiii., 10.

Digitized by Google

Finally, the same author in another treatise, alluding to the primal chaos and the creation, as grounds of Scriptural metaphor, remarks that: —

"These are constantly alluded to, as expressive of any remarkable change, whether prosperous or adverse, in the public affairs—of the overthrow or restoration of kingdoms and nations, and are consequently very common in prophetic poetry, particularly when any unusual degree of boldness is attempted. If the subject be the destruction of the Jewish empire by the Chaldeans, or a strong denunciation of ruin against the enemies of Israel, it is depicted in exactly the same colors as if universal nature were about to relapse into the primeval chaos." [4]

A principle of interpretation like that involved in the foregoing extracts, to be applied generally to so large a class of Biblical Texts, as that here referred to, must be regarded as a matter of very great importance. The principle of common metaphor, or natural symbolism, as laid down by the two eminent critics cited is, certainly quite plausible, very satisfactory in the cases to which it is applied, and it is thus entitled to serious consideration. It has been adopted, in fact, by the great majority of Biblical critics of the first rank. It affords for the Universalist exegesis, also, a completely satisfactory explanation of a large number of controverted passages; as our Lord's prophetic description of the destruction of Jerusalem; St. Paul's and St. Peter's graphic allusions to the same event, etc. etc. But in point of fact, neither Dr. Gesenius nor Bish. Lowth has apprehended (for at the time they wrote they were not known) the actual circumstances, which gave rise to this seemingly high-wrought imagery, in the description of the rise and fall of the ancient kingdoms, employed by the sacred writers generally; for no such imagery is employed by any other class of ancient authors. Properly, indeed, this style of the sacred writers, although highly symbolical and poetical in its nature, does not belong to ordinary poetic imagery. This high-wrought language of the ancients was really of a technical character, well under-

[4] Lowth. Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews. Ch. ix. pp. 100, 101.

Digitized by Google

stood, and quite common. It had its origin in one of the fundamental ideas of the ancient civilizations. It was a fundamental idea of the ancient civilizations, *that the State was an imitation of the Kosmos, or world;* more especially, of the order and arrangements of the heavens; being for this reason technically termed "a celestial earth;" that is to say, *a heaven earth; a heaven + earth;* or *an earth modeled after the heavens.* Conceive of a State—for such were very common in antiquity—whose chief territorial divisions are modeled after the chief divisions of the Kosmos, particularly those of the heavens; where the King represents the Sun, as highest divinity, being literally worshipped as such, like the ancient Pharaohs; where the Queen symbolizes the Moon; and where the principal officers of State represent the seven planetary bodies, or more frequently the twelve zodiacal constellations; —conceive of a State thus organized in strict imitation of the order and arrangements of the heavens, and we have what was known as "a celestial earth;" we have the origin of that style of language adopted by the sacred writers, in their descriptions of the rise and fall of the ancient kingdoms. It will be our aim in the present article, to illustrate and demonstrate these statements. We quote here from that storehouse of ancient symbolism, Dr. Bähr's Symbolism of the Mosaic Cultus:—

"It is a fact upon which no doubt can be entertained, that the ancient systems of worship did not grow out of State regulations, as if the State, and the political ordinances had a prior existence to the religious institutions; on the contrary, the political organizations were modeled entirely according to religious ideas. Nor was it a fact, after a ruler had been established, and a civil polity had been formed, that these notions were transferred to a Divinity, the conception of an earthly kingdom giving rise to that of a Divine government; but rather was the notion of a Divine Ruler the origin of that of a temporal one. What God is for the entire world, such was the earthly monarch conceived for his individual kingdom; namely, a miniature divinity, who dwelt and ruled on earth, just as God dwells and rules in the heavens. Indeed the order and arrangement of the heavens, the notion of a heav-

Digitized by Google

enly and Divine government, constituted in the minds of the people of the East, *the originals*, of which the institutions of this lower world were but *imitations;* and it was for this reason that they were thought to possess the stamp of Divinity and the sanctions of religion."[5]

The statement generally, as applied to all the more ancient civilizations, that religious ideas, customs and institutions preceded those of a purely political character, receives abundant confirmations from more modern researches than those on which Dr. Bähr based his theory. But as a still more definite application of the principle, that the State was modeled after the Kosmos, especially after the order of the heavens, is found in the subjoined extracts:

"Since the stars were considered, not only as animated, but actually as divinities, so the starry heaven was conceived as a celestial city. or as a heavenly kingdom; and since this kingdom upon which all terrestrial life and existence depended, was arranged in twelve (zodiacal) divisions, it constituted really the type for the order and arrangement of the cities and kingdoms of the earth, or the lower Kosmos. Hence the division of the people and of the territory, according to the number twelve. The king, or chief ruler of the State represented the highest divinity, or the Sun, and was at the head of the twelve tribes or races, over each of which a subordinate ruler was placed, answering to each division of the zodiacal band." "Some examples may be cited here, and we begin with the East. The successors of the Chinese Emperor Zao report, that he installed twelve Mandarins as rulers over the empire, after having divided it into four parts, according to the directions of the cardinal points. We find from the Mosaic narrative (Gen xvii., 20; xxv., 16), that the Arabians were divided into twelve tribes proceeding from as many ancestral heads; and in the times of Mahomet the Saracens and Nabatæans formed twelve tribes, to each of which a constellation of the zodiac was dedicated. A like division existed among the Persians. The Imperial Palace enclosed a public court divided into four parts, for the young men, the overseers, the men, and the ancients; over these divisions twelve archons ruled. Egypt, also, in ancient times, was partitioned into twelve chief provinces, connected with the division of the populace into four casts. Even the division

[5] Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus. B. i, s. 11.

Digitized by Google

into 36 nomes, already mentioned, was only an expansion of this earlier system, being an imitation of the 36 heavenly decans, three to each of the twelve zodiacal signs." "With the Greeks this system was very common. Twelve tribes formed the confederation of the original population at Delphi; there were the twelve cities of the Ionians of Asia; twelve cities of the Achæans of the Peloponessus; the twelve communities of Attica; of the Cecrops; also the twelve phylarchs or phratres of Athens, proceeding from the four races." "So, too, among the Etruscans, and their neigbors the Romans, this arrangement according to twelve prevailed. There were the twelve Etruscan cities, etc."[6]

The author then proceeds to the twelve tribes of Israel, and the territorial division of the public domain into twelve districts. It has been stated, also, on Rabbinical authority, that each of these twelve tribes had for its ensign one of the twelve constellations of the zodiac. But it was not merely in the division of the population and domain, according to the twelve zodiacal asterisms, that the ancients attempted to imitate the order and arrangement of the heavens, in the constitution of the State. The solar system, the seven planetary spheres, often formed the basis of arrangement. There was the city of Thebes with its seven planetary gates; the city of Ecbatania, also, with its seven circular walls, the Imperial palace being located in the innermost enclosure. Dr. Bähr notices the fact, likewise, that many Eastern monarchs constructed their palaces, in such manner as to represent the solar, or planetary system; the throne being located in the most central part, representing the Sun. This custom was especially prevalent in Central and Eastern Asia.[7] Thus, there can be no doubt entertained, as regards the general proposition, that the kingdoms of antiquity were considered as *celestial* or *heavenly earths;* as imitations of the Kosmos; more especially of the upper Kosmos or heaven. This notion, as already stated, was one of the fundamental ideas in the theory of the ancient civilizations.[8]

[6] Ibid s. s. 203, 204. [7] Ibid, s. s. 114, 203, 245, etc.

[8] NOTE. The statements generally by Dr. Bähr, in his examples of ancient celestial earths, have been abundantly verified by more recent researches. It is probable,

Digitized by Google

But we have confined ourselves mostly, thus far, to the heavens or upper Kosmos, instead of to the entire Kosmos including its two chief divisions, the heaven and the earth; although it was fundamentally in this its larger sense, that the State was considered as a reproduction of the Kosmos; each State being thus, as it were, a new creation, a new heaven and earth. We must attempt here, in a few pages, to convey an intelligent idea of that, which, adequately treated, would occupy the space of several articles. Among the ancients, almost everything pertaining to the State centered in, and proceeded from the temple. In fact, the idea of the State was but an expansion of that of the temple. Creation itself was considered as a Temple, and the Temple as an image of Creation. On these points, we quote again from Dr. Bähr: —

"To the question: What conception did the Hebrews associate with the notions, 'house of God,' 'building of God,' 'dwelling of God?' the answer is at hand. According to *a generally prevalent*, and to the Hebrews, an *especially familiar conception*, the building constructed for the Deity, the house in which God dwelt, *was the created heaven and earth*. All the creations of God, in the mind of the Hebrews, were conceived as buildings; insomuch that the creation of woman was represented as a building (Gen. ii., 22. *Banah*, 'to build). So, too, the creation of the world was described in the technical terms of architecture, as in Job xxxviii., 4, etc."[9]

however, that the nomic system of division of Egypt according to 36, instead of 12 parts, was the most primitive; although Dr. Bähr is supported by direct statements of classic authors. The Nomes in Egypt were absolutely primitive, dating from the theocracy, even, which preceded Menes, and were originally of a religious character, according to M. Aug. Mariette. The inscriptions afford ample evidence that the Egyptian kingdom was modeled after the Kosmos, especially the heavens.

[9] Symbolik. i. s. 77. Note. The language of Job, according Conant's New Version, is the following: —

"Where wast thou, when I founded the earth? declare if thou hast understanding. Who fixed its measures, that thou shouldst know? or who stretched the line upon it? Whereon were its foundations sunken? or who laid the corner-stone, when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy?"

Highly poetical as this language must be regarded, it was still in strict accord with familiar ideas, respecting the symbolism of the Temple as an image of the Kosmos.

Digitized by Google

This symbolical character, which attaches generally to the sacred edifice, lends significance to the details of its description, and it affords for us, likewise, a better explanation of its order and arrangement. It falls principally into two chief divisions; of which one (the Holy of holies) takes in a special sense the name of the whole; the dwelling, the house, or the tent of God. With the Hebrews, accordingly, of the two divisions of creation itself, the one, the heaven, was regarded as the peculiar abode of the Divinity. By analogy, therefore, it is necessary to regard the especially so-called *dwell*ing, as an *image of the heavens;* while the *court* corresponds to the other chief division of the world, or to the *earth.*" [10]

"As before said, it is a conception not at all peculiar to the Hebrews, but common to all the (ancient) nations, and inseparable from their notion of God, even, to represent the world as a building or a house of the Divinity, and the heaven as his especial dwelling-place. The Universe, but in a special sense the heaven, is the real, true Temple, built by the Deity himself; and this, as the original Temple, constituted the model, the archetype of all those constructed by man." [11]

The foregoing extracts sufficiently prove the statement before made that, in antiquity, "Creation was conceived as a Temple, and the Temple as an image of Creation." Dr. Bähr is fully justified in the declaration, that these ideas were generally prevalent, and by no means confined to the Hebrews. The student of Roman Antiquities, especially, will be familiar with these conceptions. Indeed, a remarkable proof of the antiquity and wide prevalence of these notions, among the Etrusco-Romans, was the antique form of the temple-gates, or doors, called *Cardo*. These gates turned on pivots projecting on one side from each end; and Dr. Wm. Smith thus speaks of them:—

"The form of the door above delineated makes it manifest, why the principal line laid down in surveying land was called *Cardo;* and it further explains the application of the same term (*Cardo*) to the North Pole, the supposed pivot on which the heavens revolved. The lower extremity of the universe was conceived to turn upon another pivot, corresponding to

[10] Ibid. s. s., 78, 79. [11] Ibid, s. s., 94, 95.

Digitized by Google

that at the bottom of the door; and the conception of these two principal points in geography and astronomy led to the East and West also: hence our four points of the compass" (*Cardinal* points from *Cardo*).[12]

Nothing can be more direct and positive than the proof here afforded, that the Etrusco-Romans conceived Creation as a Temple, and the Temple as an image of Creation. Even the pivots on which the gates of the Temple turned, represented the two Poles or pivots of the Kosmos. Even the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews recognizes this doctrine; for he teaches expressly, that the entrance of the High priest, once a year, into the Holy of holies, symbolized the entrance of Christ into heaven itself, etc. Thus if the Holy of holies was an image of the heaven so the outer court represented the lower Kosmos, or the earth, confirming Dr. Bähr already cited. But we need not devote more space to the proof of the propositions before us. The writings of Varro, among the Romans, of Bähr, and still more recent, of Nissen, whom we shall soon quote, afford ample proofs of this symbolism of the Temple.

That which was conceived to constitute Creation a Temple, and the Temple an image of Creation, was the one, simple and fundamental idea in each; —that of *division*. Thus, from the Aryan root *Tem*, or *Tam*, "to cut," "to divide," is derived the Latin *Tem*-pus, "time," *Tem*-plum, "temple;" also the Greek *Tem*-enos, "temple." At the base of all, the Latin *Tempus*, *Templum*, Greek *Temenos*, and English *Temple*, is the original notion of *division*. Any space cut off, bounded, divided, constituted a *Tem*, a Temple; and it was the chief divisions of the Kosmos, according to the cardinal points, that constituted it a Temple. Moreover, the ground idea in the process of creation was that of *division*. Thus the Heb. *Bārā*, Gen. i. 1, signifies "to cut, to carve, to divide," and thence "to create by cutting, dividing," etc. In all the cosmogonies, the first act of creation is conceived as the division, separation of chaos, heaven and earth being formed respect-

[12] Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq. Art. *Cardo*.

Digitized by Google

ively from the two portions. The fundamental idea, therefore, alike in the construction of the Temple, and in the process of creation, was that of *division;* involved in the Aryan root *Tem*, or *Tam*, and in the *Semitic* root *Bar Bara*, etc.

Having exhibited in brief the relations of the Temple to the Kosmos, we proceed now to trace its relations to the State or Kingdom. It is necessary to begin here, with the method of constructing the Augurial Temple. Dr. Smith goes on to say;—"The augur went out before the dawn of day, and, sitting in an open place, with his head veiled, marked out with a wand the *divisions of the heavens.* Next he declared in a solemn form of words, the *limits* assigned, making shrubs or trees, called *tesqua*, his *boundary on earth corresponding to that in the sky.* The *templum augurale*, which appears to have included both (the celestial and terrestrial spaces divided off), was divided into four parts." [13]

Two points are to be particularly noticed here: 1st. The Augurial Temple included both a celestial and terrestrial space, or a particular heaven plus a particular earth; these being cut off from the common space, definitely bounded and divided up, always in reference to the cardinal regions; these two spaces, also the celestial and terrestrial, being considered in fixed, definite relation to each other. Every such Temple, as before remarked, was a particular, limited heaven *plus* earth; both systematically bounded and divided. 2d. The term *tesqua*, applied to the boundaries of the Augurial Temple, is derived according to Fick from the primitive Aryan *Tvaska*, "nonentity, void;" from which is the Zend *Thwâsha*, "the unlimited space of heaven." Here is a profound idea common to the most primitive races; without limitation, that is, without division, *space*, whether celestial or terrestrial, is mere abstraction, emptiness, void, nonentity. To render anything concrete, real, there must be limitation, division. To limit, to divide, is thus the first act of creation; that which converts the void, the empty naught, into existent reality. This is all embodied in the notion of the *tesqua*,

[13] Dict, Gr. Rom. Antiq, Art. *Auspicium.*

Digitized by Google

marking the limits of the Temple of the Augurs. This Temple was an image of creation; the method of constructing it was analagous to the process of creation. As the *tesqua* converted by limitation, division, the void, empty space into a concrete reality, into a *Tem*, *Temenos*, Temple; so the first act of creation, the separation of chaos, converted the empty void into the two chief divisions of the Kosmos, the heaven and earth. The analogy of ideas here is very direct, profound, and by no means accidental. We are here in the presence of a deep symbolism. But we quote again from Dr. Smith: —

"As partitioners of land, the *Agrimensores were the successors of the Augurs; and the mode of limitation* (division) *was derived from the augurial method of forming the templnm.* The word *templum* like the Greek *temenos* (fr. *tem* or *tam*) simply means 'a division; its application to signify the vault of the heavens was due to the fact, that *the directions were always ascertained according to the true cardinal points.*" The main line in land surveying was drawn from North to South, and was called *Cardo*, as corresponding to the axis of the world (recall the gates *Cardo*); the line which cut it (at right angles) was termed Decumanus. These two lines were produced to the extremity of the ground which was to be laid out, and parallel to these were drawn other lines, according to the size of the quadrangle required." [14]

As will be seen, the land surveyors were the successors of the augurs; that is, they applied to the partition of the soil the same method of division, as previously employed by the Augurs in constructing the *templum*. As we shall soon see, the simple expansion of the same system was applied to the plots of towns and cities, and thence to the territorial divisions of the State. We cite now in confirmation of the foregoing, from the recent, critical treatise of Hern Nissen, on the Temple, etc.: —

"The limitation (division) proceeds from the cardinal regions; a line drawn from East to West, cut by another at right-angles, drawn from North to South, forms the basis of the system." "The first or common form of limitation is the centuriation or division into like squares." [15]

[14] Ibid. Art. *Agrimensores.* [15] Das Templum, etc., s. s. 11, 20.

Digitized by Google

The application of this system in the founding of cities and States, is thus set forth by the same author: —

"The principles according to which the city was laid out were those of the system of land measuring (derived in turn from the *templum*). The Decumanus and Cardo maximus determined the direction of the two principal streets of the city, dividing it and the territory into four regions. In the various illustrations of the scheme of these divisions, the *cross* (+) forms the basis. Our authorities represent those forms as most complete, where the intersection of the Decumanus and Cardo maximus falls exactly in the centre of the city, or the forum; and it is from this point, through four gates, that the two main divisions extend each way over the entire country, which is thus, like the city, divided into four regions." [16]

From the foregoing extracts and remarks it will be now seen that the system of division of the soil was a simple expansion of the method of constructing the Temple. A further expansion of the same method was that employed in laying off the plot of a town or city, divided up by the streets into like squares; and yet a further application, of the same system constituted the territorial divisions of the State or Kingdom. It was on this ground, that the city, and even the State itself, were regarded as temples. The whole scheme proceeded from and centered in the Temple. The Temple was the focus, the central point of the entire Kingdom. The last stage in this process of expansion was, from the territorial divisions of the State, to the geographical divisions of the earth, and to the astronomical divisions of the heavens. In fact, the axis of the heaven itself, the *Cardo*, including the two poles of the Kosmos, was symbolized by the gate of the Temple, which turned on its two pivots projecting from the top and bottom of the same. One fundamental idea runs

[16] Ibid, s. a. 58, 59. Note. According to Prescott's Histories, the ancient States of Central and South America were founded on the same principles. The Kingdom of Peru, under the Incas, was an example. Four great streets branched out from the central plaza of the capital of the country, extending each way, in the direction of the cardinal regions, to the most extreme boundaries of the State, dividing thus the entire public domain into four regions. Various other facts mentioned by Prescott and other writers, almost compel us to look to Asia for their ultimate origin.

Digitized by Google

through the whole; — that of *division*. The two typical instruments of division, among the ancients, were the sword and the plough. It was by his sword that the god Belus divided the woman *Omoska* representing the chaos in the Babylonian cosmogony, out of the two portions of which the heaven and earth were formed. As regards the plough, the other typical instrument of division, its use in the founding of cities or States will afford sufficient illustration. First, however, we wish to submit one or two additional statements from Hern Nissen. He says: —

"The land-measurers founded their art upon the doctrine of the Kosmos." "The limits (divisions), in their view, stood in direct connection with the order of the world; the *Cardo* represented the axis of the world, and the Decumanus divided the world into two halves" (upper and lower Kosmos or heaven and earth.) "According to the fixation of the Decumanus and Cardo maximus, proceed the larger divisions of the territory, by the construction of parallel lines." [17]

The various expansions of the method of constructing the Temple, into the system of land-divisions, in laying out the plots of towns and cities, and in the division of the kingdom itself into provinces; conducted logically to the grand divisions of the Kosmos; conducted also to the conception that, as the State, by virtue of its divisions, was a great Temple, and as the Temple was an image of the Kosmos, so was the State an image of the same. We come now to the specific act of founding a city or State, illustrated in the ancient Italian or Roman towns. Hr. Nissen remarks that: —

"The ancient Italian town did not originate, like those of the middle ages and of modern times, by a slow process of growth from the house to the hamlet, and from the hamlet to the town. It was *created at once by a single politico-religious act*. The memory of the founder was perpetuated, and his veneration constituted an important part of the cultus of the commonwealth. Not only the memory of the founder, but that of the day and year of its foundation were also preserved, and marked by annual festivals. For this reason a regular ritual for such occasions had grown up. In the ceremony of

[17] Das Templum, etc., s. s. 67, 163, 165.

Digitized by Google

foundation, according to Cato, the founder yoked a bull and cow (or heifer), the bull on the right and the cow on the left, or the cow inside and the bull outside. With his head veiled, he then plowed around the plot selected for the town, taking care to turn all the sods inward; for the turf and the furrow indicated the lines of demarkation between the wall and the ditch surrounding the town or city. Where a gate was to be located, for ingress and egress, he lifted the plow out of the ground, and carried it over the required distance." [18]

The profound symbolism of this ceremony will hardly be realized adequately, without some additional remarks. Just as the main lines in the plots of towns and cities, were marked by a plow with a bull and heifer attached, so the primary divisions of the Celestial City were plowed by the Solar-bull and the Lunar-heifer. In the cruciform inscriptions, the generic name of the planets is the Accadian *lubat*, Assyrian *bibbu*, denoting some species of animals not yet fully determined. The planets were thus conceived as animals, wandering and grazing iu the heavenly pastures. Again, the specific name of the planet Jupiter, whose orbit coincides nearly with the ecliptic, is usually *Lubat-guttav*, or *guttam*. This last element, *guttav*, is explained in the texts by the Assyrian phrase, *pitnu sa same* "the furrow of heaven," that is, the ecliptic.[19]

Thus, the planet Jupiter is the animal (*lubat*) which follows the heavenly furrow. But what animal plows this celestial furrow? In the term *gut-tam*, the first element, *gut*, signifies "a taurus;" and *tam* or *tav*, is only another value of the sign *Ud*, "the sun." The animal, therefore, which plows the celestial furrow is the Solar-bull; and as the moon follows the same path, it was natural to yoke to the same plow, in the ceremony of foundations, the Solar-bull and the Lunar-heifer. We have in these data a striking proof of the fact, that the ancient towns, cities, States, were regarded as imitations of the heavenly city or kingdom; in other words,

[18] Ibid, s. s. 55, 56.

[19] See Lenormant. Fragments de Berose, pp. 370, 371. Notes. Cf. Sayce. Trans. So. Bib. Archæology. London. Vol. iii. p. 170. Also Cuneif. Inscrip. West-Asia. Vol. ii. Pl. 47, l. 21.

Digitized by Google

were regarded as "celestial earths." Every State, in fact, was a new heaven + earth; a new heaven and earth, or a new creation. Here again occurs the ground idea, that of *division*, the typical instrument being the plow. Nor was the notion of plowing the celestial fields, of cultivating the heavenly soil, confined to the Euphrates valley. In the early Egyptian tombs, we see represented on the walls the person of the defunct, cultivating and sowing the fields of the celestial *Ament* or Paradise. Among the ancients, in fact, almost everything on earth, from the king upon the throne, to the laborer of the field, was conceived to have its archetype in the heavens, and such was especially the case with the State or kingdom itself. The founding of the State, even, was as a new creation, as already intimated. According to the traditional notion of the State, human society, previous to its organization, was in a condition strictly analagous to the primal chaos. Thus Hr. Nissen observes that: —

"In its organization the State is so closely connected with the House, that we may consider it an enlarged image of the same. Its genesis, however, forces us to view it as a *thesis* (θεσις); an individual act of creation. The *sagas* of the Hellennes and Italians, respecting these foundations, are nothing more than speculations upon the origin of States, according to which all follow the same course; namely, that the State was created out of an original condition of disorder, lawlessness, immorality and chaos. All nationalities begin alike with the introduction of agriculture, and the worship of the divinities; each presupposes a wild chaos, a nonentity, out of which the State was created." [20]

By the merest outline of facts, compared with the great abundance, which might be gathered from every quarter of antiquity, we are now conducted to the particular point of view, from which alone it is possible to gain the idea fundamental in the ancient States and Kingdoms; the idea of "a celestial earth," or "a terrestrial heaven;" the idea, in fact, of a new, secondary creation; a new heaven and earth, mod-

[20] Das Templum, etc., s. s. 136, 137. Note. We seem to have here the origin of the notion of a creation *ex nihilo*, "from nothing." In the symbolical sense here intended, the doctrine may be admitted.

Digitized by Google

eled after the original and archetypal Kosmos. Just as the Temple was itself an image of the Kosmos, so the State which centered in and proceeded from the Temple, being an expansion of the same, was also a world within itself; a heaven + earth, modeled after the primordial heaven and earth. To found a Temple or State was to found a new creation. The origin of the Temple, the birth of the kingdom, was as the origin of all things, the birth of the world, and of time itself. All subordinate foundations and beginnings were as the foundation and beginning of the universe. Recall the fact, quite important here,that the augurial Temple included a definite limited, celestial space placed in direct relation to a definite, limited, terrestrial space. So every kingdom, itself the greater Temple, was a heaven and earth; a celestial and terrestrial space, bounded and divided off according to the cardinal regions, and placed in direct relations to each other.

Such, so far as we have been able to condense into a single article, were some of the leading ideas in the ancient civilizations and kingdoms. Nor were these grand conceptions the exclusive property of any one people of antiquity. They can be traced in all the ancient literatures, from that of the primitive Chinese, to the augurial science of the Greeks and Romans; in the Cuneiform Texts of the Euphrates, and in the Hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Nile Valley. Those who have traced the origin of the ancient Kingdoms and Civilizations in the crude, superstitious notions of savage races, have studied antiquity to no profit. Those great and noble States of the early times were grounded in sublime ideas; in a deep, all-embracing symbolism, which permeated all institutions alike.

We are now in a position to comprehend the origin and import of that high-wrought imagery which the sacred writers so frequently employed in their descriptions of the rise and fall of the ancient Kingdoms, and of the introduction of the various, successive divine dispensations. Take for example the following, in the Prophet's description of the fall of Babylon; —

Digitized by Google

"For the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof shall not give their light; the sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine." "Therefore, I will shake the heavens, and the earth shall remove out of her place, in the wrath of the Lord of hosts, and in the day of his fierce anger" (Is. xiii. 10, 13). Again the same writer: "And all the host of heaven shall be dissolved, and the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll; and all their host shall fall down, as the leaf falleth off from the vine, and as a falling fig from the fig-tree" (Is. xxxiv. 4). With these and numerous other texts of a like character, in the Jewish Scriptures, compare our Lord's description of the impending ruin of the Jewish Kingdom.—"Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken" (Matt. xxiv. 29). Finally, on this style of description, take St. Peter's words, as follows: "But the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up" (2 Pet. iii. 10, cf. vs. 12).

The first passages above quoted are applied by Isaiah himself, to the destruction of the Babylonian Kingdom. The texts immediately following are applied expressly to the overthrow of Idumea. All judicious critics admit that the Saviour's language referred definitely to the impending fall of the Jewish State, and the end of the Mosaic Dispensation. St. Peter's descriptions must evidently have applied to the same events. The theory of natural, ordinary metaphor, here, as adopted by Gesenius, Lowth, and others, while it has the merit of being reasonable, and quite acceptable even to the new exegesis, does not, after all, afford any proper explanation of the origin of this style of writing, peculiar to the Scripture authors. But from the point of view which we now occupy, not only the ordinary use and application of such Biblical texts become perfectly apparent, but the actual

Digitized by Google

origin of this phraseology is satisfactorily explained. In the conceptions of antiquity, the State or Kingdom, and especially the Jewish State, in the view of the sacred writers, was literally, so to speak, a heaven + earth; a celestial earth; it was a world, a Kosmos within itself. The Prophet's language, therefore, as well as our Saviour's, was that ordinarily applied to the State or Kingdom. There were the politico-symbolical heaven and earth, imitating the two chief divisions of the Kosmos. There were the King, Queen, and chief dignitaries of the kingdom, corresponding to the solar and lunar orbs, and to the other heavenly bodies, such as the planets zodiacal asterisms, or stars of the first magnitude. There were, finally the masses of the people, representing generally the heavenly hosts, without distinction. In employing this phraseology, therefore, in depicting the ruin of Babylon, the Prophet made use of imagery perfectly familiar to the people addressed. It was the same in respect to the kingdom of Idumea. Our Saviour's language, also, already cited, and that of the Apostles, before referred to, were perfectly understood by those to whom these predictions were immediately addressed. The notion of a "celestial earth," of "a heavenly kingdom," in the sense here explained, was everywhere familiar, and this peculiar phraseology in referring to it was habitual and almost technical.

If we turn now to the opposite idea, to the birth of a kingdom, the founding of a State, the event is described as a new, secondary creation, like that from the primordial chaos. A new heavens and a new earth are formed. Thus Isaiah, as before cited; "For behold, I create a new heaven and a new earth." As Gesenius correctly held, the reference here is to the new ideal Jerusalem; and thus the prophet proceeds: "But be ye glad and rejoice in that which I create; for behold, I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy" (Is, lxv. 13). As Dr. Bähr has shown by a super-abundance of proof, the idea fundamental in the Jewish State, as founded by Moses; the idea expressed originally in the Tabernacle and Israeltish Camp, and later in the Temple and organization of

Digitized by Google

the twelve tribes, was no more nor less than that of "a celestial earth," "a terrestrial heaven;" an idea, which, in our Saviour's time, was embodied in the common phrase: "kingdom of heaven," or "kingdom of God;" *i. e.* the new ideal Jerusalem. It was thus in strict accordance with the fundamental idea of the Jewish State, that the prophets employed this mode of description so habitual with them; and this both, in respect to the ruin and fall of States, and the birth of new kingdoms. Such modes of speech were familiar to the learned and unlearned, and were not in danger of misconstruction, as they have been by our modern interpreters.

The exegetical value of the foregoing remarks, as applied to eschatology, especially the notion of the destruction of the material world, will be now fully understood by the reader. It was, doubtless, by a later perversion of this prophetic style of language, applied to the celestial earths of antiquity, when its symbolic import had been lost, that the notion of the literal destruction of the Kosmos took its origin among the Jews, passing from thence over into the Christian church, where it has been perpetuated to our day. A like perversion of ideas and phrases seems te have taken place, in later periods outside the Hebrew people, so that the idea of a literal destruction of the Kosmos, alternately by water and fire, or by deluge and conflagration, became quite prevalent. But the reader will find, in these investigations, the true grounds and principles of interpretation, as applied to that large class of Biblical Texts, scattered througnout the Old and New Testament; texts which, in the popular estimation, can be applied only to a final conflagration of the material heaven and earth, the material Kosmos. The general principles here established will be found to apply, if we mistake not, to all such passages without exception. We know, now the origin, and the original application and import of all such Scriptural Texts. But we are reminded here, that the reasonable limits of this article have been already reached, and that we must not occupy further space with this subject.

Digitized by Google

GENERAL REVIEW.

"*American Statesmen*" — *John Quincy Adams.*

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. By John T. Morse, Jr. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.

John Quincy Adams was a remarkable person, taken at any time of his life, seen from any standpoint of character or action. As a boy, as a man, he was thoroughly loyal to conscience, to principle, and to what seemed to him duty. Whatever he thought was right and just he followed fearlessly, regardless alike of party and policy, of his own interests and prospects, of the advice of friends and the threats of enemies.

When a boy of eleven years he accompanied his father, in 1778, on a diplomatic mission to Paris, and there made his first acquaintance with foreign lands. After a brief stay he returned with his father, and in three months' time was on his way back again to Europe; and while on this voyage he commenced that "Diary" which has since become so famous, the last entry being a short time before his death, in 1848. During this second visit abroad, he began to see a good deal of the world, and to mingle in very distinguished society. When he was only fourteen, Francis Dana, accredited as envoy to Russia, took the boy with him as his private secretary. He improved his opportunities to such advantage, and showed such surprising gifts, that on his return to Paris, after six months' travel, he was appointed additional secretary by the Commission engaged in negotiating the final treaty of Peace between the revolted Colonies and England — the commissioners being the elder Adams, Franklin and Jefferson.

In 1785 his father was appointed minister to England, and it became necessary for the boy to decide on his future course. The temptation was strong to go with his father to the brilliant court of St. James; but he had the courage to sacrifice present enjoyment to future usefulness. He resolutely turned his face homeward again, and conscious of the need of thorough training for the career he proposed for himself even at this early period, he prepared for Harvard College, and entered the junior class, graduating in 1787, at the age of twenty. Soon after he commenced the study, and then the practice, of Law. But his drift was so decidedly in the direction of politics and government, that, during the outrageous action of the notorious Genet, the French minister, he wrote and published some

Digitized by Google

political pamphlets on the neutrality which our country should observe in European wars, that were so remarkable as to attract universal notice; and it was probably owing to these that Washington nominated, and the Senate confirmed, him as minister at the Hague. The manner in which the young diplomat acquitted himself in the midst of difficulties consequent upon the French occupation of Holland, and in the perplexing entanglements of his side mission to England for the exchange of ratifications of the Jay treaty, the reader must learn from the book itself.

From the Hague Washington, at the close of his second term, transferred him to Portugal, but before his departure his destination was changed by his father, then President, to Berlin, at the suggestion and earnest recommendation of Washington. From this mission he was recalled by his father, who had failed of election for the second term. In 1802 he was elected to the Massachusetts Senate, and in 1804 to the United States Senate. And here we have him in a position which soon discovers to us what kind of stuff the man is made of; his talents, moral qualities, principles of action, conscience, loyalty to the interests of his country, independence of party, courage, political knowledge and statesmanship. In all these he is an example for the politicians and statesmen (?) of to-day, the men whose conduct in the halls of state and national legislation has brought disgrace upon the American name.

The bitter contest between Adams and Jefferson which ended in the election of the latter to the Presidency, begot intense hatreds, not only between the Federalists and the Republicans or democrats, but among the Federalists themselves, a portion of whom were fiercely hostile to the elder Adams, and were ready to transfer their personal dislike and hostility to the son, as soon as he took his seat in the Senate. He seldom spoke, and whenever he did he was received coldly, and at times with almost insult; and every measure which he proposed and every resolution which he offered were voted down without consideration; when the same matter afterward proposed by some other member would pass unchallenged. His Diary in repeated passages shows how exceedingly bitter and unprincipled this personal opposition to him was. Certain of these men, he says, "hate me rather more than they love any principle." On one occasion a committee, of which he was a member, met, transacted its business, adjourned, and reported to the Senate, without so much as notifying him of its meeting.

Digitized by Google

He felt all this deeply, but he held his naturally quick temper in check, remained silent, and waited his opportunity. It came at last in the shape of the British aggressions on our commerce and shipping previous to the war of 1812.

Those who are familiar with the state of things at this time, are aware that the nation and its legislature were divided into two parties, the one partisans of the French, the other of the English. The old Federalists hated the French, and the Republicans hated the English; and both were bent on committing our government to secret or open, direct or indirect, action in behalf each of its favorite. The Federalists, especially of New England, were in strong sympathy with England, and notwithstanding all her insults, outrages and seizures, were determined to submit in patience, rather than resent them and risk a war. Mr. Adams despised this tameness and cowardice, and from the first took up a bold position, and introduced resolutions into the Senate denouncing the right of Great Britain to seize neutral vessels; a proceeding which he stigmatized as "an unprovoked aggression upon the property of the citizens of these United States, a violation of their neutral rights, and an encroachment upon their national independence." And the second resolution instructed the President to demand restoration and indemnification for property already seized. These measures, fiercely opposed by his own party, Mr. Adams had the satisfaction of carrying through by Republican votes.

We have not space to follow out the counter decrees of non-importation and blockade by the English and French governments which thickly followed, and which, as Mr. Adams declared, "placed the commerce and shipping of the United States with regard to all Europe and European colonies in nearly the same state as it would have been in, if England and France had both declared war against the United States." And all the while our ships were stopped on the high seas by English men-of-war, and American sailors violently taken from them, and forced into the English naval service. This was one of those outrages now so long gone that few persons appreciate the enormity of the wrong, or the extent to which this impressment of our seamen was carried. Says Mr. Morse,

"Those who shall ascertain the truth in the matter will feel that the bloodiest, most costly, and most disastrous war would have been better than tame endurance of treatment so brutal and unjustifiable that it finds no parallel even in the long list of wrongs which Great Britain has been wont to inflict upon all the weaker and uncivilised

Digitized by Google

peoples with whom she has come into unwelcome contact. It was not an occasional act of high-handed vengeance, but an organized system worked upon a very large scale. Every American seaman felt it necessary to have a certificate of citizenship, accompanied by a personal description, as Mr. Adams said, 'like the advertisement for a runaway negro slave.' Nor was even this protection by any means sure to be always efficient. The number of undoubted American citizens who were seized rose in a few years to many thousands. They were often taken without so much as a false pretence to right; but, *with the acknowledgement that they were American citizens, they were seized upon the plea of a necessity for their services in the British ship!* Some American vessels were left so denuded of seamen that they were lost at sea for want of hands to man them; the destruction of lives, as well as property, unquestionably thus caused was immense.

"When after the lapse of a long time and of infinite negotiation the American citizenship of some individual was clearly shown, still the chances of his return were small; some false and ignoble subterfuge was resorted to; he was not to be found; the name did not occur on the rolls of the navy; he had died, or been discharged, or had deserted, or had been shot. The more illegal the act committed by any British officer the more sure he was of reward, till it seemed that the impressment of American citizens was a surer road to promotion than valor in an engagement with the enemy Such were the substantial wrongs inflicted by Great Britain; nor were any pains taken to cloak their character; on the contrary they were done with more than British insolence and offensiveness, and were accompanied with insults which alone constituted sufficient provocation to war."

To all these outrages, and even to the attack on the Chesapeake frigate, and the seizure of four of her crew, and the subsequent promotion of the British commander as a reward for his insolence and lawlessness, the Federalists were disposed to submit; and it was at this crucial point that Mr. Adams abandoned his party and stood alone. When, soon after the attack of the Leopard on the Chesapeake, he heard a prominent Federalist "openly justify the transaction at noonday, in a public insurance office upon the exchange at Boston," he says, "this was the cause which alienated me from that day and forever from the councils of the Federal party."

Then came the famous embargo which called out a howl of rage from the commercial States, who saw in it, as they thought, only their utter ruin. But Mr. Adams bravely stood by the government, and voted for the measure, and thereby brought down upon his head the redoubled wrath of the party, who "despised him, loathed him, and said and believed that he was false, selfish, designing, a traitor, an apostate, that he had run away from a falling cause, that he had sold

Digitized by Google

himself," etc. Nothing could be farther from the truth, nothing more entirely contrary to the man's nature, character and principles. He felt the outrages and insults inflicted on his country, and, without the least regard to personal or party considerations, he resolved to stand by his country by whomsoever represented. He saw that the time for action had come, and acting from the highest principles, and with the strongest probability that it would ruin his political prospects, he gave his vote in support of all measures of the administration which aimed to vindicate the honor and the independence of the United States. Of course such action cost him his place in the Senate; but he showed his conscientiousness and courage, and that, without party affiliations with either side, he could stand alone to do right; in a word, that he was neither French nor English in his sympathies, but first and last, and only, an *American*.

Mr. Madison, in spite of all this, as soon as he was seated in the Presidential chair, nominated Mr. Adams as Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia, and strange to say he was confirmed on the second trial by a vote of 19 to 7. He was received by the Russian Emperor and Court with distinguished consideration. Later he was appointed one of the Commissioners for settling the terms of peace with England. Here again he shows his courage and manliness, and his determination to maintain the honor of his country, to submit to no unjust demands, and to suffer no insolence or unfounded pretensions from the British commissioners. And in this he was compelled again to stand almost alone. In his Diary he says,

"The tone of all the British notes is arrogant, overbearing and offensive. The tone of ours is neither so bold nor so spirited as I think it should be. It is too much on the defensive, and too excessive in the caution to say nothing irritating. I have seldom been able to prevail upon my colleagues to insert anything in the style of retort upon the harsh and reproachful matter which we receive."

Mr. Morse's account of the discussions and dissensions among the American commissioners, and the petty personal spite and malice shown toward Mr. Adams, and which sought to annoy and humiliate him at the cost of much precious time and to the prejudice of great national interests, will instruct the reader, and convince him that great men, even such as Clay, Gallatin and Bayard, can sometimes do very small and mean things. At the close of the finally successful treaty negotiations Mr. Adams became envoy extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain, thus fulfilling Washington's

Digitized by Google

prediction of his success as a diplomatist. Here he remained until 1817, when he returned home to take the post of Secretary of State under President Monroe. From this he rose to be President. The course of exciting events attending his election, and his administration of public affairs, the reader must find in the book itself, where Mr. Morse has recorded the strange story with dramatic effect. The one thing which stands out from the narrative is the incorruptible integrity of the Man, and his resolute refusal to do one thing in act or word to secure his election; one thing that would detract from his personal dignity and self-respect, or reflect in the least degree upon the office of Chief Magistrate, or above all that would endanger the perfect purity and honesty of elections. And recent events in our political history, and the much discussion of reforms in civil service, will give emphasis to the following, and show the high ground occupied by Mr. Adams on the whole business of office-seeking, and office-distributing, and office-fitness. He says,

"Efforts had been made by some of the senators to obtain different nominations, and to introduce a principle of change and rotation in office which would make the Government a perpetual and unintermitting scramble for office. A more pernicious expedient could scarcely have been devised. I determined to renominate every person against whom there was no complaint which would have warranted his removal."

Henry Clay, his Secretary of State, urged the removal of one Sterrett, naval officer at New Orleans, "a noisy and clamorous reviler of his administration, and lately busy in a project for insulting a Louisiana representative who had voted for Mr. Adams." The President replied,

"Should I remove this man for this cause it must be upon some fixed principle, which would apply to others as well as to him. And where is it possible to draw the line?" "Of the Custom House officers throughout the Union, four-fifths in all probability were opposed to my election. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, had distributed these positions among his supporters. I had been urged very earnestly, and from various quarters to sweep away my opponents, and provide places for my friends. If I adopt this policy in one case, I shall be called upon to do the same in many. An invidious and inquisitorial scrutiny into the dispositions of public officers will creep through the whole Union, and the most selfish and sordid passions will be kindled into activity to distort the conduct and misrepresent the feelings of men whose places may become the prize of slander upon them."

Digitized by Google

In what superb contrast stand these sentiments and principles of action with those of his successor — "To the victors belong the spoils" of office. If Mr. Adams's rule of conduct had been adopted and followed to our time, we should have been spared the painful and disgraceful scenes in which lately some of our great (?) men have taken part, and which have brought upon our mud-puddle politics the contempt of all noble minds at home and abroad.

But we must hasten. Passing over some of the most interesting portions of his biography, we come to his conduct, when in the House of Representatives, on the Slavery question. "It is a striking circumstance," says Mr. Morse, "that the fulness of greatness for one who had been (U. S.) Senator, Minister to England, Secretary of State, and President, remained to be won in the comparatively humble position of a Representative in Congress." He was elected to the House in 1830, and continued to represent his district until his death, eighteen years afterward. This period marked the most distingished and brilliant portion of his public career.

The first occasion which brought Mr. Adams to the front was the proposed annexation of Texas, which started a movement at the North touching the aggressions of the Slave power which never paused afterward until it was finally settled forever by the results of the great Rebellion. By nature and by training he was a legislator and statesman, and leaving to others the work of rousing the people to action and resistance, he set himself to that portion of the work to be done in the House, and to meet the united efforts of the slavery party to silence the voice of the people in Congress, and abolish the right of petition. He was determined that the rights of the masses should be maintained, that the Senate and House should not be girdled with chains, but remain forever the Faneuil Hall of the Nation, where the cry of the oppressed should be heard, and judgment rendered.

Again he found himself isolated, and almost alone at first. "A second time the chief part of the gentlemen of Boston and its vicinity, the leading lawyers, the rich merchants, the successful manufacturers, not only opposed him, but entertained toward him sentiments of personal dislike and even vindictiveness. This stratum of society — the gentlemen of the North sympathizing with the 'aristocracy' of the South — could not make common cause with anti-slavery people."

The result was that he stood up again as in the past, and, with few exceptions of late and half-hearted help, fought out the battle single-handed and alone. In February, 1835, he began offering petitions in

Digitized by Google

regard to the abolition of slavery, and the conflict opened, and continued until May, 1836, when the "Jay" resolution, refusing to debate the question, became the standing rule of the House. Regularly at the opening of each new Congress he moved to rescind the rule, but of course was voted down; and as regularly he continued to present anti-slavery petitions by the hundred, which were as regularly thrust aside. On one day, Feb. 14, 1838, he presented three hundred and fifty of these! all sharing the same fate. Every time he attempted to speak he was met with a tornado of howls, shouts, screams, threats, and cries of "Order! Order!" from the House and from the Speaker, until his voice was lost in the tumult, and the House became more like a riotous mob, than a body of dignified national legislators. Finally came the attempt to expel him from the House, he himself presenting petitions for this object. But in this, too, he foiled his foes completely, and they retreated from the field vanquished by the one man who understood more of constitutional law and parliamentary methods than all the rest combined.

No sooner was this matter settled than the indomitable old man rose to his feet, and opened anew his budget of anti-slavery petitions, and, as he says, "presented nearly two hundred, till the House adjourned!" What use to attempt to talk down, or browbeat, or terrify with resolutions of expulsion, and threats of assassination, this persistent, heroic soul in his lonely fight against wrong and despotic power. We say lonely, for only Edward Everett helped him a very little, while one or two others spoke against the resolution, carefully announcing, however, that they had no love for Mr. Adams.

Amid all these contests he never failed to keep up his warfare against the "gag resolution," and his defence of the right of petition. And steadily from year to year he gained ground. The majority against him began to dwindle, until in 1842 it was only four, and in 1844, after a protracted struggle of weeks, the motion for rescinding was carried by a majority of 28: and Mr. Adams had conquered in his last great fight with the Slave Power, in his last battle for Constitutional Law and the Rights and Sovereignty of the People. "Blessed, forever blessed, be the name of God!" he writes in recording the event.

In November of 1846, he was struck with partial paralysis in the street in Boston. He recovered so far as to resume his duties in Washington three months later; and it was a beautiful tribute to the

Digitized by Google

acknowledged integrity and lofty principles, and noble character of the man, that instantly on his reappearance in his place all business was suspended, and the entire House rose and received him standing! This where a few years before the English language was exhausted in vain efforts to find invectives sufficiently bitter and abusive to express the contempt and hatred felt for him. Truth, Principle, Righteousness, Courage are sure to win at last.

On Febuary 21, 1848, he took his place in the House as usual. The Speaker rose to put a question, when he was suddenly interrupted by cries of "Stop! Stop! Mr. Adams!" The "old man eloquent" had fallen over insensible. The members thronged around him in anxious agitation. The House hastily adjourned. He remained in a stupor till the evening of the 23d, when in a moment of intellectual consciousness he uttered those memorable words, "*This is the last of earth — I am content!*"

And why should he not be content? Never was there a braver or more honest and conscientious soul enshrined in human body; never a life more unselfish, more thoroughly consecrated to the interests of his country and humanity; never a man who more consistently subjected his ambitions to his principles, and was content to live and die for Righteousness, Justice and Liberty.

For the rest the reader must go to the book. We have only touched a few points, here and there, in the career of one who proved himself a completely furnished *American Statesman*. A perusal of the biography will show that, great as he was, he was not without faults; and also show in several important matters that our country is unconsciously indebted to his sagacity and knowledge for that which others have received credit for. He first broached the so-called "Monroe Doctrine," which is now much discussed in connection with the Panama Canal. In his Anti-Slavery debates he first took the ground, as far back as 1836, twenty-five years before the event, that in case of war, not only the President, but the commander of the army, had the power to abolish slavery; in other words, "power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves." If the succeeding volumes of "American Statesmen" are as rich in information as this, the publishers' purpose will be accomplished, and thousands will become familiar with "the many and diverse influences which have combined to shape the political history of our country."

Digitized by Google

Jewish Beliefs Regarding Future Punishment.

DR. HARMAN, the author of a very excellent "Introduction to the Holy Scriptures," has contributed to the *Methodist Quarterly* a digest of Weber's "System of Theology of the Old Synagogue of Palestine." According to this digest, as compared with other similar reports of Jewish opinions in the time of the Saviour, it would appear that there is some difference of opinion concerning important theological doctrines among Jews, ancient and modern, as well as among Christians. The few paragraphs given below will show that while all parties have consulted the original authorities touching the question of future endless punishment and restorationism, and the meaning and usage of the word *Gehenna* or *Gehinnom*, different results are reached by Canon Farrar, Weber as reported by Dr. Harman, and Cohen as reported by Rev. O. D. Miller. Weber's work abounds in repetitions as appears from the summary of Harman, necessarily resulting from the repetitions of different original authorities going over the same ground, and also from the wish to represent fairly the varying and antagonistic views of the numerous treatises and commentaries which go to make up the Talmud.

Some of our readers will remember that Farrar's conclusions, based on Talmudic and modern Jewish scholarship, were in substance as follows, given in his own words: "1. According to the Mishna and Gemara, and all the most eminent Rabbis, *Gehenna*, 'hell,' meant for the majority of Jews, if not for all, brief temporary punishment, followed by forgiveness. 2. For worse offenders long, but still terminable punishment. 3. For the worst offenders — especially Gentile offenders — punishment followed by annihilation."

It will also be remembered that Cohen, according to Miller's translation, positively affirms, that "that which distinguished above all the Pharisaic belief relative to the coming of the Messiah and the reign of God, was the conviction that it would bring to the entire world the end of all evils, the pardon of their sins, and happiness without alloy not only for the just of all nations, but for the impious themselves. . . . Harmony will be established between Israel and all other people. Death will be conquered. Joy will break forth everywhere." See the statement in full in the *Quarterly* for July, 1881.

In view of these two representations — one of which makes the Pharisaic or Jewish belief to be, that a portion of the wicked, the worst offenders, will not be restored, but will be annihilated; the

Digitized by Google

other that the entire human race, Jews and Gentiles, will only be saved — let us hear what report Weber brings back from his interviews with the many-sided Talmudic authorities:

"As all Israel is to be united in the Messianic kingdom, those cannot be wanting who before this time have descended into *Sheol*, and are there waiting for redemption. All those who have the sign of the covenant have claims to redemption and to a share in the Messiah's kingdom. After the captives have been brought out of *Sheol* by the Messiah they and all the righteous who are waiting for redemption will be restored to this temporal life, that is, they will rise from the dead.[1] That this is to take place, according to Jewish tradition, after the exiles shall have been brought back home, Abarbanel testifies in his Commentary on Isaiah xviii. 3, and Kimchi on Isaiah lxvi. 5. Others suppose that the resurrection of the dead will take place, not at the beginning of the Messianic age, but in the course of it. To the Messiah God gives the key of the resurrection of the dead. The Messiah is called Jinnom, *to raise*, because he will wake up the dead. The resurrection will take place in the Holy Land. The righteous who are buried outside of this land will be rolled thither through subterranean passages. The dead will be gradually raised to life at the successive blasts of a great trumpet, which the Holy One will blow, and which will be heard from one end of the earth to the other. The resurrection body will be composed of bones, flesh and skin. The starting-point of this new body is the lowest bone of the spinal column, (the coccyx,) which the rabbis supposed incapable of destruction. The resurrection body, in material and organization similar to the present body, will, nevertheless, according to *Sanhedrin*, 92[a], be immortal. The living Israelites gathered from their dispersion, and the dead brought to life, will enjoy in the Holy Land the glory of the Messianic age."

"The Messiah, the Son of David, is destined to become the ruler of the world. All the prophecies which speak of a kingdom of God, which is to embrace the whole world, are referred to the Messiah's rule over the world. So Gen. xlix. 10. Shiloh is the Messiah to whom the kingdom will be given. The Targums contain not a few references to the dominion of the Messiah. The world-kingdom which the Messiah will establish takes the place of the Roman Empire. It is supposed that the nations of the world, even in the Messianic age, will further continue to exist as such. But the statements respecting Israel's religious relation to the nations differ widely.

"*Gog and Magog and the end of the Messianic age.*— While the Messiah in Jerusalem is ruling over the nations, a rebellion of Gog

[1] "In the theology of the Talmud and Midrash, *Sheol* is not to be distinguished from *Gehinnom* (hell.) The Kabbalistic theology of the Middle Ages divided *Sheol* into two parts, *Gehinnom* and the lower Paradise, which latter is distinguished from heaven. In Luke xvi. 22, *et seq.*, Hades and Paradise are separated by an impassable gulf as between heaven and earth."

Digitized by Google

and Magog[2] is made against him, and especially against the law of God which the nations are no longer willing to bear."

"*The resurrection and judgment of the world.*—Through the rebellion of the nations of the world against the Messiah, the Messianic kingdom comes to an end, and now begins the judgment of the world and the separation of the ungodly people from the earth, which is renovated and assigned to the people of God as their sole dwelling-place. According to the ancient Jewish theology, there will be a resurrection of the righteous only, as a part of their reward.[3] The judgment upon the heathen and those of Israel deemed like them, is continually taking place, while they are dying and descending into *Gehinnom* to receive their just punishment. *Gehinnom*, which is for Israel a purgatory, is for the heathen the place of punishment. At the same time there are such in Israel who likewise fall into *Gehinnom* without hope because they are viewed as heathen. *Erubin*, 19ᵃ, says that all Israelites will be brought by Abraham out of *Gehinnom*, with the exception of the one who has approached a Samaritan woman, and of the one who has made himself uncircumcised so that he may no longer be known as a Jew. *There are also sins, not to be forgiven, which consign even the Israelite forever to Gehinnom.*

"Those who have fallen into *Gehinnom* await, first torture and pain, but in the end complete annihilation. In respect to the duration of punishment, the house of Hillel says, (*Rosh Hashshana*, 17ᵃ:) The apostates of Israel who have made known their apostasy (by omitting to put on the phylacteries,) and the apostates from among the nations of the world who have shown by great sins their abandonment of God, go down into *Gehinnom* and are punished for twelve months; after which their bodies are entirely burnt up and also their souls, and the wind carries away the ashes under the soles of the feet of the righteous, according to Mal. iii. 21. But the *Minim*, (Jewish Christians,) and the betrayers (of their people), the epicureans, who deny the divine origin of the Torah and the resurrection of the dead, and separate themselves from the ways of the community, and who, like cruel overseers, have made themselves an object of terror in the land of the living, who have sinned and have caused the multitude to sin, like Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, and his companions, *these go down into Gehinnom, and are punished in it for all generations.* In *Sanhedrin*, x. 3, it is said that the generation of the great flood was long ago annihilated.

"The older Jewish view knows only of a *Gehinnom* for the wicked and a *Gan Eden* (Garden of Eden, Paradise) for the righteous, but knows no place between the two. *Gehinnom* has its name, according to Kimchi, (on Psalm xxvii. 13,) from the valley of Hinnom, at Jerusalem, where they were accustomed to bring all impure things,

[2] "Magog is the country of the ancient Scythians, of which Gog is king."

[3] This seems not to harmonize with Paul's declaration, Acts xxiv. 15: "And have hope toward God, *which they themselves also allow*, that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and the unjust"—in other words, of all men.—*Ed.*

Digitized by Google

especially all bones, where they also kept a perpetual fire to burn up the impurities. *Gehinnom*, accordingly, is the place for the impure, just as *Gan Eden* is the place for the pure, and the end for which souls descend there is either to be purified or to be consumed by the fire. The first destiny is for the members of the House of Israel; the latter for the heathen. The pre-supposition for the thought that for Israel *Gehinnom* is a purgatory, forms the view that all who are provided with circumcision as the sign of the covenant cannot remain eternally separated from God, but must finally be again added to the community of God. In *Gehinnom* they suffer the pain of fire, and this pain is their repentance. They must pay in hell what justice demands. This repentance lasts, according to *Edijoth*, ii. 10, *Pesikta*, 97[b], Echa Rabba, 48[b], in general twelve months — six months in the flame and six months in the cold. All Israelites, says Baba mezia, who descend into *Gehinnom*, ascend into the Garden of Eden, with the exception of three characters: the adulterer, the one who puts his neighbor to shame, and the one who gives his neighbor a disgraceful name.

"Although judgment is continually executed in the death of an individual, yet at the close of the historical development of that world, a judgment of a universal kind will take place, which we may designate as the judgment of the world. Of this judgment Dr. Weber gives a copious description from the old authorities, and concludes with the remark — 'Accordingly the nations of the world, through the judicial sentence of God, will be delivered to annihilation through the fires of *gehenna*. And thus afterwards the earth, in the sole possession of Israel, and freed from the ungodly nations of the world, can be renewed and become the seat of eternal life.'"

"*The new heaven and the new earth, and the new human race.* — From the old creation a new, pure one is to proceed — a new heaven and a new earth — luminous and pure, in which there will be no sinner. This new earth will be perfect and harmonious, and will afford the conditions of an existence free from trouble. There will be no destruction and death, neither will there be strife in the animal world, nor will the peace between men and the animal world ever be disturbed."

"*The Olam Habba*, (*future world.*)— The future world belongs to Israel to the exclusion of the nations of the world. To this every Israelite has an expectancy, unless he has lost it by apostasy. Respecting the form of life in the future world there are two different views — the one spiritual, according to which, in the eternal life, none of the functions belonging to the sensual body will any longer exist. In opposition to this, a more materialistic view is given in *Tanchuma*, Chayzé Sara, 8: In this world the righteous beget good and bad, but in that world all (their children) will be good."

This jumble of opinions is represented as "The Theology of the Old Synagogue of Palestine"; but it will be difficult to make out

Digitized by Google

what certain of the terms and phrases really mean, or indeed whether in all cases they are intended to signify the same thing. For example, *Gehenna* seems to be a word of elastic meaning, something like *aionios*, depending largely on the connection. Applied to the Jews it means *purgatory* or corrective punishment — in a few extreme cases perhaps endless punishment. Applied to the Gentiles, or heathen, it means annihilation, or complete destruction of soul and body.

So "the future world," *Olam Habba*, and the "new heavens and earth" at one time are evidently employed to describe a condition of affairs during the reign of Messiah upon the earth; at another they seem to point to a state of things in a realm beyond the earth, beyond death and the judgment. "The Resurrection" sometimes refers to restored life in this world under the Messianic rule, but confined to the true Israelites; and again it seems to refer to an existence beyond the earth that is purely spiritual, in which the bodily senses and functions will have no part.

One thing, however, Weber seems to think is established on the authority of the Talmud, and in which he flatly contradicts Deutsch, Cohen, and others, viz: that the great body of the wicked will be annihilated, while a few at least both of Jews and Gentiles will be tormented endlessly in *Gehenna* or *Gehinnom*. "There are sins, not to be forgiven, which consign even the Israelite forever to *Gehinnom*." "The *Minim*, or Jewish Christians, the betrayers of their own people, the Epicureans (Sadducees?) who reject the Torah and deny the resurrection, and such as Jeroboam and his companions — these go down into *Gehinnom* and are *perished in it for all generations*." "The nations of the world (the Gentiles) will be delivered to annihilation," "consumed by the fire of *Gehenna*"; and "the (Israelitish) adulterer, he who puts his neighbor to shame, and the one who gives his neighbor a disgraceful name," will not ascend from *Gehinnom* into the Garden of Eden."

Whether this was the belief of individual teachers or rabbis, or that of all or any one of the schools, or whether it was the belief of the Jewish people generally, does not clearly appear from the citations. We are content with having given to our readers the statements as we find them in the article alluded to. It is probable that all these differing doctrines are to be found in the multitudinous treatises which make up the huge body of the Talmud; and that no one of them is to be taken as the authorized expression of belief for the entire nation, or even for any one of the Great Schools. Doubt-

Digitized by Google

less there were the same differences, the same antagonisms of doctrine among the Jews of our Saviour's time, which we find to exist among Christians of to-day.

Then again, no dates are attached to the several treatises cited, and much depends on the time at which these views were held, whether in the time of the Saviour, or two or three centuries later. The Talmudists range all the way from B. C. 180 to A. D. 500, and the only value in the way of criticism which may attach to any passage, lies in its supposed reflection of beliefs held in the time of Christ. So far as Rabbi Akiba is concerned, the testimony seems to be all in favor of the views of Deutsch and Cohen, who deny that the Talmud, in any case, teaches the doctrine of absolutely endless punishment. Akiba was put to death in the reign of Hadrian, A. D. 134, a century after the crucifixion.

Andover and its Creed.

In June, 1807, the General Court of Massachusetts passed an act which enabled the Trustees of Phillips Academy, in Andover, to found the now famous Andover Theological Seminary. As that institution has of late attracted a large share of public attention, a condensed account of its origin, organization and controversies, may be not only interesting, but useful to the reader. Our information is derived chiefly from numerous documents now in possession of the Essex Institute, at Salem.

Dr. Spring, of Newburyport, was the leading and practically the most efficient spirit in founding the Seminary. In December, 1806, he induced two of his parishioners, Mr. Moses Brown and Mr. Wm. Bartlett, to donate ten thousand dollars each, "to establish a school in which to train up young men for the ministry." He also obtained from Mr. John Norris of Salem, a pledge of an additional ten thousand dollars. Mr. Norris redeemed his pledge in a way peculiar to himself. He went to the bank and drew out ten thousand silver dollars, had them put into firkins and carried to his bedchamber, where he dedicated them to the cause of God, saying that "he never heard of any paper money being given to build the temple."

It was the original plan of Dr. Spring, and of those who were acting with him, to locate the school in Dr. Wood's parish in West Newbury; but on learning that certain persons were moving for the establishment of a similar institution in the West parish in Andover, the plan was abandoned, a union between the two sets of founders

Digitized by Google

was effected, and "it was decided to establish the school of the prophets at Andover." On the 9th of June, 1807, the movement was on foot. On the 2d of September following, Madam Phœbe Phillips and her son, Hon. John Phillips, bound themselves to erect two separate buildings; while Samuel Abbott gave twenty thousand dollars "as a fund for the purpose of maintaining a professor of Christian Theology, and for the support and entertainment of students in Divinity." The donations obtained by Dr. Spring were added to those secured in Andover, and in due time an organization was effected, a creed adopted, professors engaged, and with six students to begin with, the school went into operation October, 1808. Dr. Leonard Woods was chosen Professor of Christian Theology. Dr. Spring went to New Haven to look up a Professor of Sacred Literature. He was favorably impressed with Moses Stuart, but Dr. Dwight told him that Mr. Stuart could not be spared from New Haven; to which Dr. Spring replied, "We don't want a man who can be spared!" Moses Stuart went to Andover to become, as the result proved, though poorly enough equipped at that time, one of the most learned and famous theologians of this country.

The institution thus founded was confided to the care of a Board of Trustees, under the supervision of three Visitors; and every precaution was taken to secure the purpose of its founders from violation or perversion. The creed adopted is Calvinistic to the core. It was intended as a chart for Trustees, Visitors and Professors, and to serve as a breakwater against the rapidly rising tides of Unitarianism and Universalism; and from that day to this, a period of seventy-four years, to that creed in all its parts, single and collective, the Andover Trustees, Visitors and Professors have, by oath and honor, been solemnly bound. But from that day to this it is undeniable that the professors in that Seminary have not lived up to the terms of the creed, nor to the sacredness of their oath to teach and support it! The document is quite too long to allow of our quoting it entire in the space allotted us, nor is it necessary. A brief condensation of its prominent features will serve our purpose as well:

"I believe that there is but one living and true God. . : That in the Godhead are three *Persons*. . . That these *three* are one God, the *same* in substance, *equal* in power and glory. . . . That the glory of God is man's chief end. . . That Adam, the federal head and representative of the human race, was placed in a state of probation, and that in consequence of his disobedience, *all his descendants were constituted sinners*. . . That by nature every man is

Digitized by Google

personally depraved. . . That previously to the redeeming agency of the Divine Spirit, *all* his *moral* actions are *adverse* to the character and glory of God. . . That being morally incapable of recovering the image of his Creator, *which was lost in Adam*, every man is *justly* exposed to eternal damnation. . . That God, *of His mere good pleasure*, from all eternity elected some to everlasting life. . . That the souls of believers, united to their bodies, will, at the resurrection, be raised up to glory. . . That the wicked will, with devils, be plunged into the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, forever and ever. . . I moreover believe that God hath foreordained *whatsoever comes to pass*. . . And furthermore I do solemnly promise that I will maintain and inculcate the Christian faith expressed in this creed, by me now repeated, in opposition not only to Atheists and Infidels, but to . Arminians, Unitarians and Universalists."

That there might be no mistake as to the meaning of this creed, nor in its interpretation in the lectures of the professors, it was enacted that

ART. XII. Cons.—"Every person appointed or elected a professor in this Seminary shall, on the day of his inauguration into office, and in the presence of the said Trustees, publicly make and subscribe a solemn declaration of his faith in divine revelation and in the fundamental doctrines of Christ, as summarily expressed in the *Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism!*" Moreover, it was enacted that (Stat. Art. III.) "The preceding creed and declaration shall be repeated by every professor at the expiration of every successive period of five years."—Furthermore, it was enacted that (Add. Stat. Art. IX.),—"Every person elected a Visitor, previously to taking his seat at the the board . . shall subscribe to the same theological creed which every professor elect is required to subscribe, and a declaration of his faith in the same creed shall be repeated by him at every successive period of five years."

It will thus be seen that the founders of Andover Theological Seminary left no loophole for the entrance into the institution of heresy, or any new light derived from the ever-advancing intelligence of the age, especially if opposed to its creed. It is seldom, however, that the intention of the maker of a will, or of the framers of a creed, is sacredly regarded by their administrators or successors. It is seldom indeed that their provisions are faithfully and honestly executed. What intelligent, educated and refined gentleman or lady to-day believes in the rigid features of the Andover creed? or would listen contentedly for any considerable length of time to the faithful preaching of the doctrines they assert? The intelligence and culture of the

Digitized by Google

age has left the Andover creed and the Assembly's Catechism stranded upon the shoals of the less intelligent past, and they never again will be launched upon the pure and sparkling waters of the ocean of truth. It is also certain that, notwithstanding the oaths of Visitors and Professors, every successive five years, for seventy-four years, neither creed nor oath have been faithfully regarded. In other words, the Jesuit doctrine with regard to the right of mental reservation when making an oath has been adopted and put in practice from the beginning at Andover! This, we confess, is a serious allegation, and should not be made without proof. The proof, therefore, is now in order.

Professor Leonard Woods, the first professor of Christian Theology at Andover, was the first to prove faithless to his promise. In the spring of 1819, the late Dr. Channing delivered in Baltimore, at the ordination of Rev. Jared Sparks, a discourse in which he commented with much emphasis on certain doctrines which he held were identical with the "orthodox" faith. The prominent topics of the discourse, the time and place of its delivery, the eminence and eloquence of the preacher, concurred to attract attention and give to it a wide circulation. The "orthodox" in New England felt that the discourse should be answered and its influence counteracted; and Dr. Woods consented to undertake the task. In the spring of 1820, after the gestation of a full year, he published a series of "*Letters to Unitarians*," in which he proposed to make Unitarians "acquainted with the real sentiments of the orthodox in New England." Touching the doctrine of *Original sin*, as set forth in the Catechism, which he had sworn to maintain, he wrote as follows:

"If any one shall say, as Stopfer does, who refers to Vitringa and other reformed divines as agreeing with him,— that 'for God to give Adam a posterity *like himself*, and to *impute* his sin to them, is *one and the same* thing,'— I should not object to such an imputation! . . But the word imputation has, in my view, been improperly used in relation to this subject. . . I would here say with the utmost frankness, *we are not perfectly satisfied with the language used on this subject in the Assembly's Catechism!* . . Hence it is *common for us* when we declare our assent to the Catechism, to do it with an express or *implied restriction!*" (In other words, *mental reservation.*) — *Letters to Unitarians*, pp. 43–4.

The article in the Catechism which contains the objectionable doctrine referred to, reads as follows; — "The covenant being made with Adam, not only for himself, but for his posterity, *all mankind descending from him* by ordinary generation *sinned in him* and *fell with him*

Digitized by Google

in his first transgression!" And precisely this is what Dr. Woods says that neither he nor his brethren believe! Nevertheless, he solemnly promised, at least five times over, to teach and maintain this doctrine! It would seem, therefore, that Dr. Woods, with the Catechism on his lips, subscribing it with his hand, "*generally*," but denying it in *particular*, with a *mental reservation*, "expressed or implied," first took his seat in the Theological Chair at Andover! The proof of this allegation is complete, and this is not, by any means, the first time the charge has been made.

But dropping now Dr. Woods, let us inquire how it has been with succeeding professors who have filled the Seminary Chair. We have not now at hand the means of fully answering this question. It is fair, however, to conclude that the example set by Dr. Woods has not been shunned by his successors. We can speak with regard to one of them, namely, of Professor Park, with tolerable certainty. The creed sworn to by the professors asserts, as we have seen, that "Adam, the federal head and representative of the human race, was placed in a state of probation, and that in consequence of his disobedience, all his descendants were constituted sinners." This is also the doctrine of the Catechism, and it is plain enough. But what has Professor Park to say to it? More than thirty years ago he was charged with heresy on this and several other points of the creed, and the controversy that then occurred was remarkable for its severity. Here is what he says touching the doctrine of the article quoted;

"Is it said that a passive nature, existing antecedently to all free action, is itself strictly, literally sinful? Then we must have a new language, and speak in prose of moral *patients* as well as of moral *agents*, of men *besinned* as well as sinners. . It is charitable to say that whatever a man supposes himself to believe, he has in fact an inward conviction that *all sin* consists in sinning."—*Bib. Sac. No.* 27. *p.* 567.

That is to say, man is not a sinner by virtue of the "fall of Adam," or, as Professor Park tersely expresses it, he is not "besinned." This, undoubtedly, is the truth; but it is not the doctrine of the creed, nor of the Catechism. It is the doctrine of common sense, and common sense in the long run has never failed to assert its supremacy. And this feature in the teaching of the Andover professors we cannot fail to admire. But what shall be said in behalf of their *moral* sense? Common sense rules with them to-day as efficiently as it did seventy-four or forty years ago, and the same disregard of *moral* obligation is

Digitized by Google

as painfully apparent. In rejecting the recent nomination of the Rev. Newman Smyth to the Abbott Professorship, the Board of Visitors says;

"The Board of Visitors would again express their conviction that the theological views of Dr. Newman Smyth are in general harmony with those which have been identified with the history of the Andover Seminary from the beginning."

But the grounds for this assertion seem to be unwarranted. This will appear by placing two of Dr. Smyth's declarations over against two statements of the Andover creed:

THE CREED.—"I believe . . . that, being morally incapable of recovering the image of his Creator, which was lost in Adam, every man is justly exposed to eternal damnation."

DR. SMYTH.—"Jesus taught plainly that men are deciding here and now between life and death . . . but he did not endeavor to depict before the imagination of his hearers the possible length of duration of the future life; he did not gather together the years and heap up ages upon ages, in order that by a mere human imagination of time indefinitely expanded and prolonged he might appall them, and for aught we know utterly mislead them as to what the reality of the eternal existence shall be."

THE CREED.—"I believe . . that the wicked will awake to shame and everlasting contempt, and with devils be plunged into the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone forever and ever."

DR. SMYTH.—"All the analogies of experience would seem to compel us to believe that disciplinary processes of life must be continued after death; and in this intermediate period, suggested by some Scriptures, room would be found for the play of those forces of moral development whose working we observe in the present life."

Now, is it not the sheerest folly to say that Dr. Smyth stands on the unchanged platform of the Creed and Catechism sworn to by the Andover professors and visitors? "It is not so!" exclaims the Boston *Transcript;* "nay, more, it cannot be, for there are not ten educated clergymen in New England that stand there, or would promulgate that faith from their pulpits!" The truth would seem to be, that Professors and Visitors at Andover are in a position that tends not only to impair their manhood and self-respect, but the practical usefulness of the Seminary. If we might presume to offer advice, we would advise that they seek relief by an appeal to law, and place themselves as speedily as possible abreast of the *moral* sentiment and *intelligence* of the age. Without some such step their vindication is simply impossible.

G. T. F.

Digitized by Google

Religious World.

THE *Christian Union* now under the editorial charge of Dr. Lyman Abbott, has the following candid, critical and just comment on Haley's argument for endless punishment in his "Hereafter of Sin":

"Fully agreeing with the author, that eternal suffering would be proved if eternal sin were proved, and not assuming to *deny* eternal sin, we yet fail to find it *proved* that sin will outlast the 'eternal kingdom' of Christ. That Kingdom of Messiah, though pronounced eternal in the Bible in terms as strong as those which pronounce the endlessness of punishment, is nevertheless distinctly declared to have an end, when the Son 'shall deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father . . . that God may be all in all.' We do not argue from this mystery that sin is not eternal — thus taking our ignorance as proof: we do not stand with the author in his knowledge of the absolutely unending future; but, content with the mystery still hidden in God, we only note that till the fact be proved from the Bible or from reason that sin outlasts even the kingdom of Christ, our friend's well-wrought argument will fail to convince some of his readers, and those not necessarily the irreverent or the prejudiced."

— Hjalmar H. Boyesen says that "the old Norse paganism, with all its aggressive fierceness, was pervaded with a vague, indefinable melancholy. It is the only religion, as far as I know, which has had a distinct premonition of its transitory and provisional character. It did not pretend to be final and conclusive for all time, but merely to serve as a transition to something better of which it has but a dim, but hopeful, presentiment. It is this presentiment which is clearly embodied in the myth of Ragnarok, *i. e.*, the 'Twilight of the Gods'; the end of the old dispensation, with its reign of blood and violence, and the inauguration of a new and peaceful reign under the sovereignty of a new god, Alfather, the Father of all. The old gods, Odin, Thor, Frey, etc., were to fight with and be slain by the Fenris wolf, the Midgard serpent and the other powers of darkness, and were in return to slay them. And after the battle they were to rest in a glorious immortality; to dwell with the great and eternal God, Alfather."

— During some recent excavations in the neighborhood of Pompeii thirty human skeletons were found. One of them, which was lying at full length appeared to be grasping to its breast a purse, in which were a gold coin of Vespasian, (who began the Jewish war in which Jerusalem was destroyed), six silver and ten bronze coins, eardrops, pearls and engraved precious stones. Near the other skeletons were found coins of gold and silver. They belong to the reigns of Galba, Tiberius, (in whose reign Christ was crucified), Nero, (who put Paul to death), and Domitian. Gold bracelets, eardrops, pearls and precious stones were found with them. Think of it — only nine years after the destruction of Jerusalem the hand of the dead man, then living, grasped these coins, which it has held from that day to the present. We are the first to take them after 1803 years! No one in all that long interval has come between him and us; no human hand has touched them; they pass directly from him to us!

Digitized by Google

—It is stated that consumption of malt liquor in this country has increased over 100 per cent. in ten years. "During 1880," says the Retailer, the organ of the brewers, "taxes were paid on 13,374,000 barrels, or 414,000,000 gallons. This is equivalent to about 150 mugs for every man, woman and child in the country. Leaving out the females and children, this vast quantity represents 600 glasses a year for each male over twenty-one years old in the United States. At five cents a glass this beer manufacture of 1880 brought $375,000,000, or about $7.50 per capita for every man, woman and child. This is a quarter more than the total expense of running the United States Government!!

—Dr. Summers, late editor of the *Southern Methodist Quarterly*, noticing the recent work of Haley, the "Hereafter of Sin," says "we regret that he proceeds to revamp the wretched patristic and mediæval conceits about *hades*, as the place of departed spirits, and the false exegesis which makes "hell" out of *sheol*, *hades*, which it never means. He represents Peter as saying that Christ descended into hell to preach to its inmates; whereas he says no such thing. "He went and preached" is a pleonasm, for he preached by his Spirit, through Noah, to the antediluvians who were disobedient in the days of Noah, and who were in prison when Peter wrote—as the Venerable Bede might have told him. Christ never descended to any *hades* lower than the grave! Pray have done with *sheol* and *hades*—Papists make passages which refer to it mean 'purgatory'—heterodox writers get out of them 'hell-redemption'—and full as readily as orthodox men get out of them eternal punishment."

—The Cologne *Gazette* records the establishment of a Jewish sect at Odessa. This body of dissenters, which calls itself "New Israel," owes its origin, it is stated, to "the conviction which is gaining ground in educated Jewish circles, that it is no edict of the Government, but only social approximation which can improve the position of the Jews." They begin by throwing over the Talmud, because it is the spirit of the Talmud which principally excites the hate of their Christian neighbors, but profess their faith in "the five books of Moses in their literal sense." The literal interpretation of the Pentateuch does not, however, prevent them from rejecting circumcision, accepting all meat consumed by Christians, transferring the Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday, and demanding the legalization of mixed marriages. The determination of the sectaries to abstain from usury and dishonorable trading, and to throw themselves with all possible zeal into the fulfilment of their civic duties, is a noticeable feature of the new scheme.

—We refer again to the remarkable discovery of royal mummies in the neighborhood of Thebes in Egypt, because the facts named below will discover to our readers the careful study, the minute observation of

Digitized by Google

details, and the exact knowledge regarding the historical peculiarities of the several dynasties, which distinguish the labors of European Egyptologists, and, in spite of some inevitable mistakes, inspire a large measure of confidence in the results of their laborious, patient and persistent investigations. Those of our readers who have noted the discoveries will remember that one of the mummies gave much trouble to the archæologists in the way of identification, and that at one time it was doubtful whether it was that of Rameses II., who is regarded as the Pharaoh who oppressed the Hebrews, or Rameses XII:

"Professor Maspero favored the former conclusion, pointing out in his memoir addressed to the Orientalist Congress at Berlin in September, that the very fine workmanship, the unlikeness of the outer effigy and other characteristics of the mummy case indicated unmistakably the twentieth dynasty. Since that time he has removed the outer wrappings from the mummy and found it swathed in its original bandages, and on its breast an inscription showing it to be Rameses II., surnamed The Great, and formally registering the circumstances of its removal to the vault at Dayr-el-Baharee. The inscription goes on to say that the ancient coffin had been destroyed and was consequently replaced at the time of removal by a new coffin, of the date and workmanship of the twentieth dynasty. Hence the misleading character of the orthography and the unlikeness of the outer effigy."

— The *London Times* gives a frightful picture of the horrible brutalities inflicted on the Jews in Russia, which seem to realize all the horrors of the Middle Ages. Men have been murdered, children brained, married women and young girls brutally violated in the midst of their families and in the sight of their friends, whole streets inhabited by Jews destroyed, sections of towns burned, property of all kinds pillaged, crowds of people expelled from towns and left to find their way to some new section of the country ruined in property and surrounded by an infuriated populace. One hundred thousand people have been rendered homeless and reduced to poverty, and $80,000,000 of property have been destroyed by this brutal bigotry. These are appalling facts, but it remains to be added that in the midst of all this anarchy and barbarism the Russian Government has maintained an attitude of practical indifference.

— A society for Egyptian excavations has just been formed in London. Certain portions of the Land of Goshen are to be excavated. "Here," says the *Academy*, "must undoubtedly lie concealed the documents of a lost period of Bible history,— documents which we may confidently hope will furnish the key to a whole series of perplexing problems. The position of the Land of Goshen is now ascertained. The site of its capital, Goshen, is indicated only by a lofty mound; but under this mound, if anywhere, are to be found the missing records of those four centuries of the Hebrew sojourn in Egypt, which are passed over in a few verses of the Bible."

Digitized by Google

— Substantial progress in the affairs of the Salvation Army is reported from many parts of England. Not long ago was announced the rental by them of a large building in a fashionable part of London. It is now learned that at Clapton they intend to erect a congress hall to cost $100,000, and that more than one-half of that sum has already been subscribed. One year ago they had in England only 28 stations, now they have 265. Their paid officers number 585, and their income is $285,000. Last year 9,000,000 copies of their publications were distributed.

—"Not a hundred miles below Nashville is a curious spectacle known as the "Sun and Moon." It consists of a painting upon an immense rock which rises to an altitude of several hundred feet. As to who painted it is a mystery which has never been unravelled. Many think it the work of the red brother centuries ago, perhaps. But there the sun and the moon shine out in all the freshness of new paint. They are located midway the cliff, and stand out in bold relief. As to how any human being ever reached the spot is a question which has never been solved."

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. The True Story of John Smyth, The Se-Baptist, as told by Himself and his Contemporaries; with an Inquiry whether Dipping were a New Mode of Baptism in England, in or about 1641; and some Consideration of the Historical Value of certain Extracts from the alleged "Ancient Records" of the Baptist Church of Epworth, Crowle, and Butterwick, England, lately published and claimed to suggest Important Modifications of the History of the 17th Century. With Collections toward a Bibliography of the first two generations of the Baptist Controversy. By Henry Martin Dexter. Lee & Shephard. 75 cents.

If we were fated to enter into a controversy on the history of Congregationalism, or on the history of the doctrine and practice of Baptism by Immersion, we should pray that we might not have Henry Martin Dexter for an opponent. On the first named subject his writings are known and highly estimated as final authority both at home and in England; and they are a monument to his industry, extensive research and unfailing accuracy. This present monograph will probably convince his Baptist critics that he knows something more of the sayings and doings of their ancestors, than they themselves, and is therefore a dangerous opponent for them to challenge.

Certainly he has made a thorough study of the question, and if anything is capable of proof from the testimony of contemporary witnesses, he has proved that immersion, or baptism by dipping, was a new thing in England about 1641; that John Smyth first baptized himself, and then his company of converts; and that the Crowle "ancient records" are a stupid and unmitigated fraud. The Baptist critics had previously said of some statements of his on these points, that his sectarianism made him incapable of being an impartial historian. They will not be likely to repeat the charge after reading this exhaustive and unanswerable vindication of his knowledge and accuracy. As an example of historical statement and criticism we have never seen it surpassed. We

Digitized by Google

have only room to say that there are some facts brought to light here with the regard to the baptism of *naked* converts at the period named above, which reveal to what shameful excesses blind fanaticism will sometimes drive its victims.

2. Science and Culture, and Other Essays. By Thos. H. Huxley, LL D., F. R. S. D. Appleton & Co. $1.50.

This is a collection of the addresses, Lectures and Magazine articles which have come from Huxley during the last seven years. "Science and Culture," "Universities: Actual and Ideal," and "On the Method of Zadig" were addresses delivered before Educational Institutions, and they are full of rugged common sense; and though naturally, coming from such a man, they lean in preference to the side of scientific culture, they do not discard, nor sneer at the classical and literary side of education. The "Method of Zadig" is a pleasing and admirable statement of the difference between an education of words and formulas, and an education which deals with Nature herself by observation and experiment. In the same general line are "Science and Culture," "Technical Education," "Universities," and "Joseph Priestley"; while the rest are devoted more exclusively to science experimental and practically applied, including the article on "Evolution in Biology" contributed to the "Encyclopædia Britannica." Every one of these papers is enriched with the fruits of patient research and observation, spiced now and then with what is intended as a smart rebuke of the narrowness and ignorance of theologians and Biblical critics. Mr. Huxley seldom writes anything which is not worth reading; and he has always an easy and happy way of saying exactly what he means.

In the address on "Joseph Priestley," we have a striking example of the just revenges of time. In 1791 because of his political and religious opinions a loyal and pious mob in Birmingham attacked his dwelling, set fire to it, and Priestley and his family had to fly for their lives, leaving his valuable library, scientific apparatus, and papers embodying the labors of his life, and all their possessions, a prey to the flames. In 1874 Huxley delivers a laudatory address on the occasion of the Presentation of a statue of Priestly to the people of this same Birmingham, now proud to do honor to their famous townsman!

Looking over this address we are reminded of what we had forgotten when writing the first article in the "General Review" of the last April QUARTERLY— that Priestly agreed in opinion with Walter Balfour on the natural immortality of the soul. He says,

"According to Revelation, *death* is a state of rest and insensibility, and our only, though sure, hope of a future life is founded on the doctrine of the resurrection of the whole man at some distant period," etc. "The corporeal and mental faculties, in being in the same substance, grow, ripen and decay together; and whenever the system is dissolved it continues in a state of dissolution till it shall please that Almighty Being who called it into existence to restore it to life again." *Matter and Spirit*, pp. 49, 247.

And Mr. Huxley endeavors to give respectability to these views by showing that they were held by such high church authorities as Dr. Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, in his "Essays," and Dr. Courtenay, Bishop of Kingston in Jamaica, who says,

"The death of the body will cause a cessation of all the activity of the mind by way of natural consequence; to continue forever *unless* the Creator should interfere."

Digitized by Google

"The natural end of human existence is the 'first death,' the dreamless slumber of the grave, wherein man lies spellbound, soul and body, under the dominion of sin and death — whatever future states of life are reserved for man are results of our Lord's victory over sin and death; and the resurrection of the dead must be preliminary to their entrance into either of the future states, whether of 'life' or of 'torment.'" *On the Future States*, p. 389.

3. *International Scientific Series.* Vol. 39. The Brain and its Functions. By J. Luys, Physician to the Hospice De la Saltpetrière. With Illustrations. D. Appleton & Co. $1.50.

A work for physicians, specially those dealing with brain diseases and mental disorders. It shows a vast amount of patient observation, and long continued investigation and experiment in a most delicate and difficult department of study, where the work depends chiefly on the microscope and the scalpel. To the profession, to the physiologist, and to the medical lecturer, the results of such labor, for which so few are competent, are of inestimable value. We are not sufficiently familiar with anatomical methods and nomenclature to enjoy or profit much by such studies.

When the author passes from the physical and material to the psychological and moral realms, we cannot follow his lead. His "Genesis of the Notion of Good and Evil," seems simply ridiculous to our apprehension. The effect of sweet on "the gustatory nerves" is pleasant, and we call it good. By and by this sensation is evolved into an appreciation of such actions as give us pleasure; and hence comes the idea of moral sweetness, or goodness. A bitter thing has a bad effect on "the gustatory nerves," and from this comes the idea that human actions which affect the nerves badly or unpleasantly, are morally bitter or evil! The psychology of the book is in the line of materialism — everything is mechanical, and the nerves are both machinery and motive power.

4. European Breezes. By Marie J. Pitman; (Margery Deane). Lee & Shephard.

We took up this neat little volume, expecting nothing, and found much; much that was both pleasing and informing, much that will be exceedingly useful and convenient, and result in no small saving of time, money and annoyance to one going abroad for five or six months in Europe, or for a year in Europe and the East. The story of the book, however, is mostly confined to Germany and Hungary, with a run into Switzerland, but the last chapter tells you briefly how to go to Egypt and Palestine in the easiest and pleasantest way.

The volume is not made up from Guide-books, eschews stately cathedrals, magnificent monuments, palaces, castles, pictures and statues which have been described a thousand times before, and chats with you of things which you like to know, in a breezy, unconventional way which is very pleasing. And when the author comes to Hungary, almost a terra incognita, she charms you with her lively sketches of people and things new and very attractive; and every little while she gives you a bit of fresh information worth remembering, as in the following touching the origin of Jewish names. It seems, owing to the peculiar way of naming children, great confusion arose as to identity in case of criminal accusations. Hence more than a century ago, an edict by the empress required every Jew henceforth

"To take a name for himself, and no name borne ever by any one else was he to select. This provoked much anger, but there was nothing to be done but obey. The

Digitized by Google

command was, that they should choose names from the animals, metals, minerals, the elements, rivers, lakes, towns, etc. Hence came the Baars, Wolfs, Fuchs (fox), Hahns (cock), Hechts (pickerel), and nearly all the names ending with *baum* (tree) and *stein* (stone) and *himmel* (heaven). Some of the combinations growing out of this command are very interesting. For instance, we find Eckstein (corner-stone), Seligman (blessed-man), Himmelreich (kingdom of heaven), Fleischmann (meatman), Mandelbaum (almond-tree), Grunbaum (green tree), Rosenbaum (rose tree), Voigelstock (Austrian dialect for gillyflower bush), Braun (brown), Schwarz (black), Weiss (white). From cities and rivers are the Jewish names so common, Openheimer, Moldaner, Erianger, Wiener, Pariser, Ofner, Donau. We have also Rothschild (red shield), Honigfeld (honey field), etc. It will be seen that a German Jew is known by his name. Of late there have been modifications and changes made by families who do not wish to be so readily distinguished, but it is always easy to trace them."

5. Physical Education; or the Health-Laws of Nature. By Felix L. Oswald, M. D. D. Appleton & Co. $1.00.

The "Introduction" is out of place, and has little or no proper connection with the subject of the book. We went from it with a prejudice against the book, which, however, was dispelled by further reading; though the style throughout is oracular and conceited. Nevertheless there is a large amount of good sense and useful observation gathered into its pages, though the subjects have been so often and ably treated. The author has given a good many fresh and original suggestions, supported by interesting and instructive facts, regarding Diet, Sleep, Exercise, and especially Out-door Life and Remedial Education, which should *compel* the attention of parents and invalids, and all who desire to escape being invalids. The chapters on "Hygienic Precautions" and "Popular Fallacies" are sharp, sometimes rough in speech, but greatly needed.

9. The International Revision Commentary on the N. T. Based upon the Revised Version. By English and American Scholars and Members of the Revision Committee. Edited by Philip Schaff, D. D., LL.D. Vol. I. Matthew. By the Editor. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.25.

An indefatigable worker is this Dr. Schaff, especially in the Commentary line. He is forever busy in the work of shedding light upon the sacred text according to the light that is in him. This new enterprise is substantially an abridged and cheap republication of the "Illustrated Popular Commentary," exclusive of the costly illustrations and maps. The volumes are, however, carefully revised, and partly rewitten so as to bring them up to the latest criticisms and discoveries. The publishers have done their part with their usual good taste.

Some of the expositions are amusing in their struggle to reconcile scholarship with the popular beliefs; as in the case of Christ's Temptation, the Destruction of Jerusalem in chapters xxiv and xxv. in connection with x. 23 and xvi. 27, 28. In the last text he is driven to such straits as to make two "comings" out of it, and for a remarkable reason — vs. 27 is a coming "in the glory of his Father"; but vs. 28 is "not the coming in vs. 27," for this in 28 is a coming "in his kingdom with power"! What the difference is he does not make clear. Whenever he is forced by the context to admit that a passage belongs to the "coming" at the destruction of Jerusalem, he is careful to add that this application "does not exhaust its meaning," but is "a *type* and *earnest* of the final coming," or of "the final judgment"! The notes on the "Blasphemy against the Holy Spirit" are a curious medley of Orthodoxy and the Larger Hope. They look as if the writer had been called to comfort some one who was in despair from believing that he had committed "the unpardonable sin."

Digitized by Google

7. Review of Col. Ingersoll's Lecture on the Question, "What shall I do to be Saved?" By Joel Tiffany. Chicago Legal News Company.

Here are three little 12mo tracts, in all about sixty pages, which, in the shape of lecture and letters, contain the best review of Ingersoll's talk that has come under our observation. At the request of many citizens of Chicago, Judge Tiffany reviews the lecture named above, at the Opera House; and this review was followed by two letters to Ingersoll, still further criticising his teachings. The Judge's work is admirably done, in substance, style and spirit. There are no flings, nor sneers, nor small witticisms; no special pleading, no cunning play of words, no bigotry, nor bad temper. Everything is calm, judicial, manly, just and Christian. The position of the Judge as to what constitutes Christianity covers the ground of our faith; and thus he takes the sting from all Ingersoll's sarcasm, and the point from all his wit; and shows him that his arrows fall wide of the Christianity of Christ.

8. After-Thoughts of Foreign Travel in Historic Lands and Capital Cities. By Sullivan H. McCollester. New England Publishing House.

This book is prepared at the request of many who heard the author's lectures after his return from abroad, where he spent two and a half years. These after-thoughts are chiefly occupied with what is to be seen, learned and enjoyed in England and Scotland, France, Spain, Germany, Italy, Egypt and Palestine. It would be strange indeed if from these broad fields one could not gather something worth repeating in two or three years of observation and study. Mr. McCollester has found much to say of these lands and cities; and has furnished a very good guide for tourists, to what is most sure to please, inform and educate in art, architecture, monuments, libraries and antiquities; at the same time enriching his pages with pictures of men, manners and customs — see especially the closing chapters on Jerusalem — and with brief but interesting historical notes which invite the reader to further investigation, as in chapter xi on Egypt. The volume will prove very entertaining for arm-chair travellers, and will be a most useful and agreeable companion for those who go abroad. We hope all our Sunday School and Parish libraries wifl have at least one copy, for it is precisely the kind of book which ought to be read by our young people. It will cultivate a taste for history and travel.

9. Outlines of Primitive Belief among the Indo-European Races. By Charles F. Keary, M. A., F. S. A., of British Museum. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

It is coming to be a common belief with a certain class that religion and worship, as well as mind itfelf, like everything in the material world, are the product of evolution: and that back of all, and as the foundation out of which they have all flowed, is Nature worship, and the thousand and one myths concerning the sun and moon and stars, the dawn, day and night, the sea, the earth and all above and below it. There has been so much of this kind of literature of late, so many theories of the special origin and interpretation of these myths, so much of which, under pretence of history, is only wild and absurd speculation, that we have grown weary of the subject. A good portion of the first chapters of this book seems to us of this sort, though at the same time there is no lack of learning and information, especially as regards the growth of language in its relation to religious objects and ideas.

Digitized by Google

But when we come to chapter vi, and thence onward, there is abundant matter both interesting and instructive, which undoubtedly rests on an historical basis. While there is room for doubt in some cases, the author has clearly shown how largely the Norse mythology and the beliefs of heathen Germany entered into and shaped the beliefs of the Mediæval Church, and how largely the legends of that period, and Dante himself, owe their inspiration to the old Norse myths and mythological poems. We confess to surprise and pleasure in the perusal of this portion of his work, and can bear witness to the industry and success with which the author has wrought amid the rubbish of these old beliefs, and shown how large the proportion of paganism in the compounds of superstition, legend and dogma known as the Church religion of the "Dark Ages"—and how much of this, curiously enough, took substance and shape, or as the Spiritualists say, "materialized" in Ireland. The chapters on the Underworld, the River of Death, the Sea of Death, the Death of Balder, Ragnarök, the Earthly Paradise, and Heathenism in the Middle Ages, are exceedingly rich in mythic lore which gets historic expression in much that passes for Christian doctrine in Catholic, if not in Protestant beliefs.

The following reminds us of a paragraph in this number of the "Religious World" by Hjalmar Boyesen on Norse Paganism. After the destruction of the old earth and heavens in the original pagan myth of Ragnarök, we have a passage which shows probably the influence of Christianity:

"See arise a second time earth from ocean, green again. Unsown shall the fields bear fruit. Evil shall depart, Balder come back again. Then rides the Mighty One, to the gods' doom going, the Strong One from above, who all things governs, He strifes shall stay and dooms shall utter, Holiness establish, which shall ever be."

The Mighty One here is the All-Father of the paragraph alluded to. He dooms and destroys the gods whose jealousies, quarrels and battles have made such confusion and desolation in earth and heaven, and establishes a new order of things, a reign of holiness and happiness.

10. Molinos, The Quietist. By John Bigelow. Charles Scribner's Sons.

A tastily printed little volume telling the strange story of a Spanish Mystic of the seventeenth century. It furnishes a curious commentary on the infallibility of the Pope, and that, too, in his special sphere of doctrine; for he at first became deeply interested in Molinos, and even gave him apartments in the Vatican, and chose him for his spiritual director: but afterward, pushed by the Jesuits, the bitter persecutors of the Mystic, he pitifully confesses — "Truly we have been deceived!" and is compelled to yield up his heretic friend to the Inquisition. Few passages in Papal history show more emphatically the power of these Jesuits, even over the Pope and the Inquisition. They rule the Church, pope, cardinals, inquisition, bishops and all.

On reading the sixty-eight propositions condemned, one cannot help saying that Molinos, however good he may have been, furnished his enemies ample cause and excuse for pursuing him; and the marvel is that such extravagant and questionable teaching could have won the consent and admiration of so many thoughtful and religious people. His "Spiritual Guide" met with astonishing favor at first, having been translated into all the leading languages of Europe, and reached some twenty editions in six years. The result was his condemnation to prison,

Digitized by Google

where at the end of ten years he died. The book is curious, interesting and instructive as regards the Catholic hierarchy and the absurdities of the Mystic philosophy of two centuries ago. We may refer to it again in connection with some notice of the teachings of the Mystics.

11. Men and Books, or Studies in Homiletics. Lectures Introductory to the Theory of Preaching. By Austin Phelps, D.D., Late Professor of Sacred Rhetoric in Andover Theological Seminary. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.00.

This new volume by Dr. Phelps is intended to show that the successful preacher must not only be well read in theology, philosophy, science, history and general literature, but also well read in human nature. He must not only be a scholar among books, but a man among men. To meet the demand of the times, the needs of the pulpit, and the just expectations of the educated classes, he must be thoroughly furnished for his work. His sermons must show the fruits of study and generous literary culture, must be ripe in thought, finished in style. But behind all these, in all these, must be the man himself, alive, earnest, intense; fresh from contact with his fellow-men, enriched by the study of human nature under all its varying conditions of strength and weakness, virtue and vice, wealth and poverty, toil, temptation, love, hatred, knowledge and ignorance. By this study of men, of human life, he will best fit himself to speak a living language, intelligible, quickening to the multitude; he will be sure to reach all these phases of experience, and find some word that will touch the hearts he seeks to win.

The first six lectures are devoted to the need and value to the preacher of this study of men; the balance to such counsels respecting courses of reading, the study of books, and the literary features of the Bible, as a long life of preaching and teaching would necessarily suggest. Our notice of the previous volume may be repeated largely of this, as showing what estimate we put upon the homiletic labors of Dr. Phelps. The two volumes will prove a treasure to all young clergymen who are thoroughly in earnest to do good to their fellows; and who heartily desire to aid in making the pulpit a saving power.

12. *International Series, vol. xli.* Myth and Science. An Essay. By Tito Vignoli. D. Appleton & Co. $1.50.

There seems to be no end of endeavors to discover the origin and true interpretation of myths. This volume adds another to the list, and aims to bring them under the law of evolution, and to trace their origin far back among the lower animals even, as being the result of the universal tendency of all intelligence and perception to clothe certain external phenomena with the attributes of life. A well trained horse, for example, is alarmed by the sudden flutter of a cloth, the flaring of a lamp, the rush of water or some great noise, and plunges, kicks, and rushes away in terror. The fluttering cloth or flaring light is to him a living thing, perhaps dangerous and hurtful. If he could talk he would describe it as such. So the superstitious or ignorant man sees strange and threatening objects or phehomena, and reasons in the same way, tells exaggerated stories of the occurrence, which the hearers repeat with additions, and so the story grows and the myth is born. The author records some curious experiments made by himself with dogs, birds, etc., which are not without interest, whether his deductions from them are right or wrong. He has some excellent observations also on

Digitized by Google

the universal tendency to poetical personification in all speech; in other words to project ourselves, in part or in whole, into the objects and phenomena of nature. Those who claim that the Bible is specially figurative in its style, will see in the following that our daily speech is open to the same criticism, though mostly we are quite unconscious that we are talking in tropes and metaphors:

"We call the weather good or bad, the wind furious, the sea treacherous, a stone obstinate if we cannot move it easily. The season is inconstant or deceitful, the sun hides in the clouds, the sky threatens rain or snow, the river is malevolent, the whirlpool swallows up ships and men, the earth is thirsty, and plants fear the cold, or faint with heat. Nor do we only ascribe our own feelings to inanimate things, but we also invest them with the forms and members of the human body. We speak of the head, shoulders, back, foot, or entrails of a mountain, of an arm of the sea, a tongue of land, the mouth of a river or cave. So we say the river or sea eats into the land; the wind whistles, howls or moans; the brook murmurs, or sings; the heavens frown; the fields smile. This habit is also transferred to moral or mental questions — we speak of the heart of a subject, the body of doctrines, the members of a proposition. Truth becomes palpable, history speaks clearly, thought is lame, philosophy is childish; a theory has its youth, maturity, age and death; duty, decency, justice, law are trampled under foot."

These examples show to what extent man unconsciously ascribes his own emotions, purposes, acts, and even transfers his bodily organs, to inanimate things; and that the personifications of the Psalms and Proverbs, and the figures of Scripture generally, find their equivalents in the usage of all modern tongues.

13. The Book of Enoch. Translated from the Ethiopic. With Introduction and Notes by Prof. Geo. H. Schodde, Ph. D. Andover: W. H. Draper. $1.75.

As we intend to return to this welcome volume in our next, giving it a more extended examination in the "General Review" than a mere book notice will permit, we shall give here only the substance of the publisher's statement. We do not know the qualifications of the translator for his difficult work, but, accepted and endorsed by the Andover press, we presume that we have here the original Ethiopic as nearly as it can be expressed in English.

Our readers of course know that Jude, 14, 15, quotes from it, which clothes the work with a special interest to the Christian believer; and it was well known to the Church Fathers as shown by their frequent citations, though they knew it to be an apocryphal book. After a time it disappeared, and was regarded as one of the books lost to the Church and to literature. The numberless speculations and guesses made afterwards as to its character and contents were put to an end by its discovery in Abyssinia in an Ethiopic version at the close of the last century, by Bruce, the celebrated African traveller. Bishop Lawrence, some time later, issued an English translation, a book that now cannot be obtained.

A new version of a book with such a history and of such intrinsic value will prove a welcome addition to theological science. Everything that throws any light on the time of Christ and tends to explain the moral, religious and social atmosphere which he breathed, is studied by many faithful scholars with peculiar delight. In the complex of literary remains belonging to this sphere the Book of Enoch is one of the most important. The object of the different parts that compose it is entirely religious, and the contents are the heart-utterances of the faithful Israelites who wrote them; and thus the book is a reliable reflex of the time that gave it birth.

Digitized by Google

New manuscripts of the original have been brought from Ethiopia, a reliable text has been issued, and a host of scholars in England, Holland, France, and especially Germany, have employed a vast amount of theological learning and historical research to unravel the mysteries of this literary enigma. In preparing the Introduction and Notes, which occupy fully three-fifths of the whole work, the translator has made a thorough study and conscientious use of these aids. He has critically analyzed the work into its component parts, determined the age, purpose, and language of each, and by thus giving the true historical background has sought to make the contents more easily understood. Dr. Ezra Abbott expresses the opinion that "Dr. Schodde's work has great value as an original and scholarly contribution to the illustration of this most interesting and important of all the books of its class."

BOOK NOTES.

The Song Wave: Designed for Schools, Teachers' Institutes, Musical Conventions, and the Home Circle. By H. S. Perkins, Chicago; J. H. Danforth, New York; E. V. Degraff, Institute Instructor. D. Appleton & Co. 80 cts.

The Art Amateur. To do justice to the merits and attractions of this publication would require more pages than we can give to a work in this special department. It is a monthly wonder to us — a wonder that it can be made so beautiful, and furnish so much and such various instruction both to mind and eye, for the price demanded. We take up the May number, for example, and find the whole of the first page occupied with a fine picture for a plaque or panel followed by three pages with triple columns of editorial matter on art in general. Then comes "Gallery and Studio" with *twenty-eight* illustrations, some of which are gems, as "The Departure," "Elaine," "Meetin's Out," "Mozart Singing his Requiem," "Boston People Watching the Battle of Bunker Hill," etc., etc. Then comes "Modelling in Clay," with illustrations and instructions; and then "Ceramics" and "Decoration of Furniture," and "Art in Dress," and "Needlework," all profusely illustrated with exquisite sketches and designs, and accompanied with all needed information. And beside all this there is a Supplement of *twelve* pages of patterns, designs and sketches for learners and lovers of art. We cannot but feel that such a magazine must help to beautify and bless every home into which it goes. Montague Marks edits and publishes it at 23 Union Square, N. Y. The pages are imperial folio, 13 by 9 inches.

The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal is a work from which many of our readers would gather much interesting and valuable information. The topics treated are numerous and varied, embracing nearly everything connected with the sciences of Archæology and Ethnology, and many things which belong to the department of Philology and Mythology and other kindred subjects. The field covered by it is a large one, and it numbers among its correspondents gentlemen in all parts of the United States and Europe, as well as in Asia and Africa. It has already taken high rank in literary and scientific circles both in this country and in Europe. Stephen D. Peet is Editor. Address 65 Washington St., Chicago.

Westminster Sermons. Sermons on Special Occasions. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D. D., late Dean of Westminster. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50. Will receive special attention in our next. The measure of these sermons may be estimated from the fact that they "are now published in accordance with the wish" of the author.

An Essay on "Our Indian Question," by Captain E. Butler, 5th Infantry, U. S. A. The Board of Award pronounces it "the fruit of careful, thorough and accurate historical research."

Digitized by Google

A GREAT SUCCESS!

THE NEW BOOK.

"TALKS ABOUT THE BIBLE, TO THE YOUNG FOLKS,"

By Rev. JOHN. G. ADAMS, D.D.

It is designed to acquaint our youth with the plain and unmistakable truths of the Gospel as held and taught by the Universalist Church; to answer clearly and candidly the questions which will always be coming up in the religious world until it is everywhere enlightened and blest with the truth of the primitive Gospel, "What do Universalists believe? and what will their Faith DO towards blessing and saving the world?" It is not a class or text book, but is intended to be, a plain instructor and an attractive companion of every youth seeking religious instruction and the religious life.

To plead its utility as an agent in our Christian work would be a waste of words. If we desire to save the rising generation from religious error and deadly unbelief. and establish their minds and hearts in the truth of the Gospel, the present seems a most befitting time to do all the active work we can in this direction.

The book contains eleven "Talks" or "Numbers" on the following topics:

1. GOD the Creator.
2. GOD Speaking in the Bible.
3. The Bible: What Has it Done?
4. Variety of Reading in the Bible.
5. How GOD Loved the World.
6. Heaven: What and Where it is.
7. Hell: What and Where it is.
8. What is Faith?
9. What is Salvation?
10. What after Death?
11. Remembrance of GOD in Youth.

The work is especially commended to the attention of our ministers, Sunday-school superintendents and teachers, parents, and all others who would promote the interests of our Church, and bless the youth looking to it for instruction, with the truth and life of our holy religion.

That the book may have the widest circulation, it will be sold at the low price of 50 *cents per copy.*

UNIVERSALIST PUBLISHING HOUSE,

PUBLISHERS.

16 BROMFIELD ST., BOSTON, MASS.

Digitized by Google

1882 NOW READY. 1882

THE UNIVERSALIST REGISTER

FOR 1882.

Edited by Mrs. C. L. F. Skinner.

The *Register* for 1882 is the Forty-Seventh consecutive issue of that periodical. It is well known as the only

STATISTICAL YEAR BOOK

of the Universalist Church. It contains the facts and figures of our Church and Educational work in compact and convenient form. Among the special features are the following:

Astronomical Tables and Calendar,
Statistics of State Conventions and Associations,
General Convention and its Funds,
Record of Dedications, Ordinations,
Installations, Periodicals, &c.
Churches and Ministers by States,
Alphabetical List of Ministers,
Our Colleges and Academies,
Ministerial Obituary for 1881.

The above features make the *Register* a complete Hand-Book for every Universalist family, and all who are interested in the statistics of the Church will find in its pages much valuable information not easily accessible elsewhere.

The *Register* contains one hundred closely printed pages, including a tabular statement giving the condition of the Church in the United States from 1877 to 1882.

Price 25 cents single copy; a liberal discount by the dozen or hundred.

Address

UNIVERSALIST PUBLISHING HOUSE,

Digitized by Google

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY—IN JANUARY, APRIL, JULY, AND OCTOBER.
Terms—$3.00 *per year*—*in advance.*

SEP 23 1882

THE UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY.

CAMBRIDGE HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY MASS.

OCTOBER, 1882.

THOMAS B. THAYER, D.D., EDITOR.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

ART. XXIII. THE CATACOMBS OF ROME: THE PERVADING SPIRIT OF THEIR TEACHINGS, . . 389
Rev. A. B. Grosh.

ART. XXIV. CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL NOTES, ON CERTAIN CONTROVERTED TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE, . 401
O D. Miller, D.D.

ART. XXV. LITERARY REMAINS OF EMANUEL DEUTSCH, . 415
Chaplain G. Collins, U. S. A.

ART. XXVI. THEORIES OF SKEPTICISM — PANTHEISM. . . 427
Wm. Tucker, D.D.

ART. XXVII. THE CONTINENT OF ATLANTIS, , ... 436
Rev. J. P. McLean.

ART. XXVIII. THE UNIVERSALIST ORIGIN OF AMERICAN SUNDAY SCHOOLS, ... 448
Rev. Richard Eddy.

ABT. XXIX. ETERNAL REGRET, ... 460
Rev. Stephen Crane.

ART. XXX. OTHER WORLD ORDER, ... 469
G. T. Flanders, D.D.

GENERAL REVIEW, ... 437
The Doctrine of Salvation in the Old Testament — The Battle of Unbelief — Ballou's "Treatise on the Atonement" — Note on 1 Cor. xv. 51.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE. 506
Robertson Smith's Prophets in Israel — Stanley's Westminster Sermons — *American Statesmen* — Alexander Hamilton and John C. Calhoun — Spencer's Political Institutions — Kuenen's National and Universal Religions — Ellis's Life of Edwin H. Chapin, D.D. — QUARTERLY 1or 1883.

BOSTON:
UNIVERSALIST PUBLISHING HOUSE.

Digitized by Google

NOW READY! A NEW EDITION.

A

TREATISE ON ATONEMENT.

By HOSEA BALLOU.

Printed from New Plates with an Introduction by

A. A. MINER, D. D., LL. D.

FOURTH EDITION.

Rev. J. W. Hanson, D.D., recently said :

"There was no church that had a more symmetrical literature than the Universalist. They had one book of which they might be proud if it alone represented their literature. This was Ballou's views on the Atonement, in which could be found the germ seed of the views that have so lately been supposed by many to have been discovered by the new liberal teachers on the subject of the atonement. The seed germ of Bushnell, Swing, Thomas, and the 'new orthodoxy' is "Ballou on the Atonement.'"

This is a very able work on an important subject. It should be found in the hands of all Sunday School Teachers, and in our Sunday School Libraries. It will be found very valuable for use of Clergymen and Theological Students. *It will be sold at the very low price of 75 cts. per copy, postage paid.*

ANNOUNCEMENT.

NEW CONFERENCE AND PRAISE MEETING SINGING BOOK.

STANFORD MITCHELL, the well-known singer at Conventions, Associations and Praise Meetings, has prepared a Book that we have now in the hands of the printer. It will be issued as soon as possible.

UNIVERSALIST PUBLISHING HOUSE,

PUBLISHERS.

Digitized by Google

ARTICLE XXIII.

The Catacombs of Rome. The Pervading Spirit of their Teachings.

Roman Sepulchral Inscriptions. By John Kenrick, A. M., F. S. A. 70 pp. 12 mo.

The Church in the Catacombs. By Charles Maitland, M. D. 312 pp. 12 mo.

The Catacombs of Rome. By Rt. Rev. Wm. Ingraham Kip, D.D. 213 pp. 12 mo.

A History of Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy. By Charles I. Hemans. 400 pp. 12 mo.

The testimony of the Catacombs and of other monuments of Christian Art. By Rev. Wharton B. Marriott, B. D. F. S. A.. etc. 328 pp. Square. 12 mo.

The Catacombs of Rome and their Testimony, etc. By Rev. W. H. Withrow, A.M. 560 pp. 12 mo.

"What insight into the familiar feelings and thoughts of the primitive ages of the Church, can be compared with that afforded by the Roman Catacombs? Hardly noticed by Gibbon or Mosheim, they yet give us a likeness of those early times beyond that derived from any of the written authorities on which Gibbon and Mosheim repose. . . . . The subjects of the painting and sculpture place before us the exact ideas with which the first Christians were familiar; they remind us by what they do *not* contain, of the ideas with which the first Christians were *not* familiar. . . . He who is thoroughly steeped in the imagery of the Catacombs, will be nearer to the thoughts of the early church, than he who has learned by heart the most elaborate treatise even of Tertullian or Origen."—*Dean Stanley.*

As we enter on the study of the lessons taught by the contents and surroundings of the Catacombs, we are confronted, at the threshold, by three forms of religion and civilization, and the peculiar feelings and ideas pertaining to each. At the advent of our Saviour, the Jewish dispensation was fast hastening to its close. The paganism of Rome was dying, if not dead at heart, and corrupt throughout—bloated but weakened by additions of the gods many and monstrous of other nations—secretly ridiculed and rejected by statesmen, philosophers and priests, (who only taught it to restrain the "vulgar herd,") and honeycombed in the souls of the common people. Thus crumbling under the weight of its superstitions and fables, it was ready to vanish away before the increasing light and moral power of Christianity. And this infant religion, probably introduced into Rome soon after the crucifixion of its Founder, was silently gaining foothold and power, though yet too obscure to attract the attention of philosopher, priest, or ruler. The Roman soldiery who had had so large a part, as actors and spectators, in the execution and

Digitized by Google

other events attending the death and resurrection of the Saviour, were not likely soon to forget what they had done, seen and heard. One, astonished at the awful phenomena attending the crucifixion, had involuntarily cried out, "Truly, this was the son of a God!" Others, while guarding the sepulcher, became as dead men, and, to save their forfeited lives, readily took pay to circulate the report, (which, had it been true, would have insured their deaths by inexorable military law,) that, while they "slept on their posts," the disciples stole the Master's body. And others still, witnessed the wondrous marvels and excitements of that Passover season, and the arrests and miraculous deliverances which followed. As these wonders were also seen and heard by multitudes of Hebrews present from all parts of the Roman empire, various and circumstantial accounts of them were doubtless carried direct to Rome, soon after Pentecost, by soldiers and civilians, Jews and Gentiles, who had been eye and ear witnesses of what they related. We can therefore readily believe that before A. D. 58—before the faith of the infant church in Rome was "spoken of throughout the world"—Christians had been buried in the Catacombs, and their sustaining hope and faith, as well as their names and virtues, were inscribed in expressive epitaphs and emblems on the walls and floors of their cemeteries.

Thus, ere the close of the first century of the Christian era, "the ends of the worlds" met in the Catacombs, and each graved therein its lessons of faith or of doubt, of morals and of sentiment. That we may more clearly understand these records, let us first study the pervading spirit and general character of the memorials of each of these religious systems, in comparison and contrast with the others. Thoroughly enlightened by knowledge of that spirit and character, we can more readily get at "the exact ideas" intended to be set forth, and understand the thought and feeling imbodied in each epitaph and emblem.

The Hebrew ideas of a future state, as exhibited in their inscriptions and symbols in the Catacombs, are few, and

Digitized by Google

briefly expressed.[1] Evidently the Jewish mind and heart had not yet conceived, much less comprehended the spiritual truth hidden within the letter of their Law—the mystery enfolded as a germ in the pregnant words of their great Law-giver, as proclaimed by the Messiah to their non-receptive minds and hearts—"Now, that the dead *are* raised, even Moses showed at the bush, when he calleth the LORD, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. For He is not a God of the dead, but of the living; for all live unto Him." (Luke xx: 37.) In Hebrew faith, their departed kindred were gathered to, and slept (or reclined) with their fathers. Released from its earthly tabernacle, the spirit returned to God who gave it. Probably they did not grasp the belief of a super-sensuous, purely spiritual, and fully conscious existence; but rather an indefinite enjoyment of life in shadowy forms, released from all trial and suffering, and dwelling in an underground world, like that described by Isaiah xiv. 4–21. In accordance, are the emblems graven on the rocky coverings of their graves. They simply point to enjoyment of existence beyond this life. The Seven-branched Candlestick representing "the seven spirits or gifts of God," (or "the Sun and six planets" according to Josephus,) gave promise of the Creator's more wonderful lights beyond this life. The Olive Branch, the token to Noah, assured them of like deliverance and safety beyond the swelling waters of the dark river of death. The Palm Branch spoke of festive cheer after victory over the last enemy of life. The Dove typified the constancy of that Love which "many waters cannot quench, nor floods drown", nor death extinguish. And the benediction—"SHALOM," PEACE—breathed hope for the departed, and consolation for the survivors. All these accord with the divine teachings of their Scriptures. All breathed calm resignation and cheerful trust, greatly unlike inscriptions on many pagan tombs—as will be shown.

And no less in accord with the silence of their Scriptures,

[1] The peculiar negations of the Sadducees do not appear in any inscriptions named by the authors consulted. We name the fact, lest some might suppose otherwise.

Digitized by Google

is what they do *not* teach—is what is absent from their graves. Whatever religious instruction Moses may have received from the Egyptian priesthood, (by whom, as a member of the royal family, he was educated in their secret as well as in the popular theology,) it is certain that he gave no instruction—not even a mention—to his people, of a day of judgment after death, or of punishments and rewards postponed to another life, for deeds done in this, or transmigrations of souls into various successive bodies, for penance and purification, etc. And we find no trace of these heathen fables in any emblem traced on Jewish graves in the Catacombs of Rome. Moses evidently aimed at gradually elevating his people to a higher, purer, more humane government than the dominion of a superstitious fear of the future life—that great, if not sole retaining power generally relied on by the priests, philosophers and rulers of other nations, to keep the multitude in subjection. His ideal was a Theocracy. The reason and conscience of every Hebrew was to interpret and obey the Divine Law for himself—each subject being also a king and a priest before God, and all, unitedly, one great commonwealth. The great aim and end of the Law was to teach monotheism—to lead the nation to worship Jehovah as the only living and true God, the sole Creator and Ruler of the universe. All its provisions of ritual, sacrifice, and prohibitions (not merely sanitary) seem devised to close every avenue and quench every desire which might lure into idolatry and its debasing abominations; and to repress and finally extirpate every institution and custom among them, tending to lead them into the barbarities of heathenism. And the morality inculcated is seen in the utter absence of every emblem and epitaph which could excite hate or cruelty, or awaken sensual and impure desires. All sculpture which might represent objects inviting to idolatry, was sternly forbidden by their Law, and avoided in their burial places. And in this, they were imitated by the early Christians.[2] Probably

[2] "Independent statues were, in the first ages [of Christianity], rarely if ever used. There seemed to be greater danger of falling into idolatry in the imitation of these, in

Digitized by Google

the separation of the Hebrew from the pagan dead, was mainly to avoid familiarity with the ideas conveyed by the heathen emblems and epitaphs, lest the living might lose some aversion to idolatry, and "first endure," then admire, and "then embrace."

But great as was the contrast between the faith and worship of the Hebrews and that of the pagan Romans, each fairly represented the morality of the respective parties. Notwithstanding the boasted refinement and culture of the Romans, the Jewish idea of Jehovah was immensely superior to that of the gods set forth for the common worship of the Roman people; for these were, literally and truly,

> "Gods changeful, passionate, unjust,
> Whose attributes were *envy*, *rage*, and *lust*."

And the adoration and imitation of such gods naturally produced in the common life of the worshippers, a morality the opposite of the purity enjoined in the Law and the Prophets. How much greater, then, the contrast between the pagan code and that of Jesus? Turn we, then, to note the all-imbuing spirit and character of the Christian memorials, graven and pictured in the Catacombs, and contrast them with those of pagan Rome of the same period, as disclosed, not only in the Catacombs but also in contemporaneous testimonials.

Here we emphasize the Divine Providence in two important events connected with our inquiry—the burial and exhuming of Pompeii, and the closing and re-opening of the Catacombs.

On Aug. 24th, A. D. 79, an eruption of Vesuvius buried Pompeii so deep under showers of stones, lava, mud and ashes, that it was not discovered until about 1721. Various

which form were most of the representations of the heathen deities, than in the employment of paintings; and it was against the making of *graven* images, [from the Hebrew root, 'to cut or carve,'] that the prohibition of Scripture was especially directed. Their fabrication therefore was especially avoided." Withrow, pp. 208, 209.

Mr. Kenrick, writing of the influence of sculpture in producing Roman skepticism, undesignedly and incidentally shows the wisdom of the Law in forbidding graven images among the early Jews. He says, "Art had familiarized men with the human representations of their deities; and even by the perfection of its visible and material works, had destroyed the belief in their spiritual and invisible power."

Digitized by Google

efforts were subsequently made to exhume portions of the city, but to no great extent till since 1831. Its burial was sudden. At the height of pagan civilization it was arrested and *fixed*—a lately living panorama of every-day life. All durable memorials of the thoughts and feelings, and of the manners and morals of its buried inhabitants were thus made an unalterable record of the religious, moral and social life of its people at the beginning of Christianity—incontestible, when again produced to the light of day. Meantime, the new religion which its people had but just heard of (if at all), as a despised superstition lately brought from rude Judea, was writing its wonderful faith and history in the Catacombs of Rome, and preparing to work mightily among the nations, despite the errors and barbarisms it might gather on its way. And when that pagan sleep of centuries was ended, and that despised Christianity had educated the living world to read the lessons of that awaking, what a record of the sensuality and licentiousness of pagan civilization was revealed in the paintings and statuary of even the public places of that disentombed city? *Now*, we shrink as we read to a congregation the "mere mention" which Paul made of abominations; *then* ascribed to the gods and practised by their worshippers; *now*, too vile and indecent to be named; but *then*, sculptured and painted in temples, baths, and other public resorts for the common gaze of young and old of both sexes. No wonder that worshippers of such deities, lost reverence for their gods, and at last even lost faith in their existence.[8] Kenrick says,

[8] Rev. Mr. Withrow is so emphatic in contrasting Pompeii and the Catacombs, that we quote him in this note, though *in part* properly belonging to a later place. He says—"The exhumation of Pompeii, and the recent exploration of the Catacombs, bring into sharp contrast Christian and pagan art. While traversing the deserted chambers of the former '2,000 years roll backward,' and we stand among the objects familiar to the gaze of the maids and matrons of the palmy days of Rome. But what a tale of the prevailing sensuality—what a practical commentary on the scathing sarcasms of Juvenal, the denunciation of the Fathers, and the awful portraiture of St. Paul [Romans i. 24-27,] and others, do we read in the polluting pictures on every side! Nothing gives a more vivid conception of the appalling degradation of pagan society in the first century of the Christian era, than the disinterred art of that Roman Sodom.

"Amid the silence and gloom of the Catacombs we are transported to an entirely different world; we breathe a purer moral atmosphere; we are surrounded by the

Digitized by Google

that even in pagan burial places, Epicurean, coarse, irreligious, and irreverent if not indecent inscriptions are often found, and were freely allowed. Of inscriptions on pagan tombs, he says, "that among all the virtues ascribed to the departed, ameliorating misery, suffering, poverty — or educating the ignorant and poor—are never named—are known only to Christianity." (Page 35.) And speaking of manifestations of natural affections and sympathies being found on heathen as well as Christian tombs, he adds—

"But there is a wide difference in the religious faith and sentiment with which the bereavements of life are met, and which find their record on the funeral monument. One remarkable contrast strikes us, on comparing ancient with modern, heathen with Christian inscriptions—the entire absence in the former, of anything like resignation to the will of a Superior Power, or any acknowledgement of a benevolent purpose in a painful dispensation. If the gods are alluded to, it is in the way of complaint. . . . . Cornelius Victor, who died at the age of 31, complains that his virtues had not secured him a longer life; while Marsilia Stabilis regrets that her eminent piety could not purchase exemption from the common destiny. . . . . Nor does the deceased speak from the tomb with any words of consolation to those who are left behind."

Similarly providential was the sealing up of the rocky records made by the early Christians in the Catacombs. As the Church sought popular favor, especially after attaining imperial power, it declined from its primitive purity and simplicity. Burials, no longer needing secrecy, were gradually changed from the chambers of the Catacombs to vaults in churches, and to cemeteries above ground. And when the Church left the sheltering "dens and caverns of the earth" to ascend the throne, wear the purple, and assume the sceptre and crown of the Cæsars, its followers ceased to congregate in the Catacombs to commune with Jesus where slept the bodies of his saints and martyrs.[4] The desertion from the Catacombs was

evidences of an infinitely nobler social life; we are struck with the immeasurable superiority, in all the elements of true dignity and grandeur, of the lowly and persecuted Christians to the highest development of ancient civilization."

[4] The enthronement of Christianity (instead of paganism) as the State religion, by Constantine, was not as abrupt as it outwardly appeared—at least, it was prepared for

Digitized by Google

followed by their decay, and that by dilapidation, until nearly all the corridors and chambers became unvisitable ruins. And thus Providence sealed up, for nearly one thousand years, the memorials which the early Church had graven and pictured there for the instruction of its children, converts and disciples—secured them against additions or obliterations by those who afterward corrupted the doctrines and changed the government of the Church. And thus they remained—intact undeniable testimonies—through the long night which brooded over Christendom—till light began to "break forth from God's Word," and the revival of letters, the emancipation of Science, and new applications of Art (eminently, the Press) prepared men to understand, to value, and to use these lessons of the Catacombs.[5] It is noteworthy that the means by which many errors are to be corrected, have been

by a slow decline in the spirit and doctrine of the Church, as well as the dying out of pagan faith to make room for the changed Christianity. Says Maitland,—"Certainly that last desperate attempt to eradicate Christianity, [the Dioclesian persecution, A.D. 303–340,] was the most vigorous, perhaps, in exact proportion to the prevailing terrors of the heathen regarding the final triumph." Again, he says—"A powerful reaction followed the last persecution, greatly increased by the Divine judgments inflicted on some of the principal persecutors: these were so remarkable as to give occasion to a special work of Lactantius, entitled 'The Deaths of the Persecutors.' The return of the exiled Confessors was triumphant, and the pagans themselves acknowledged the interference of God in behalf of his worshippers." Hence there was small need for persecution, or even persuasion, to enforce obedience to the decree of the newly converted Emperor. And whatever we may believe of, or however explain, the appearance of the emblazoned Cross in the sunset heavens, and the motto—"IN THIS SIGN CONQUER," (whether seen in the sky, or heard in the recesses of the soul,) neither the appearance, nor its interpretation and application seem to have been doubted by the Fathers of the Church. Yet, the spirit of Jesus must have been much weakened in their souls ere they could have approved Constantine's construction of the sign and motto. For, not a sword, or other weapon of war—not a crown, or other emblem of worldly dominion—not even a mitre, was the sign by which he was to conquer. None of these! but the CROSS, emblem of the Saviour's deathless love for sinners, scepter of his Kingdom of *Peace*, and reminder of that prayer "made perfect" amid all the agonies of an embittered death—in which he not only besought Our Father to forgive his murderers, but extenuated their crime! That was, and is, the glorious Sign in and by which, only, can the Church or its members truly conquer and be finally victorious.

[5] "After having for four centuries served as a refuge and a sanctuary to the Ancient Church, they were nearly lost sight of during the disorder occasioned by barbarous invasions" of the Goths, Huns, etc. "In the sixteenth century the whole range of the Catacombs, which had remained absolutely untouched during more than one thousand years, were restored to the world at a time when the recent revival of letters enabled the learned to profit by the discovery." *Maitland*, pp. 1, 2.

Digitized by Google

collected and arranged by the Mother of those errors—the Romish Church—in whose exclusive possession they were left, and remain. For, proud of their testimony to her origin, and claiming to be the sole continuation of that primitive Church, she sees not that the monuments she so carefully guards, convict her of gross departures from Christian worship and doctrine.[6]

In further comparing the imbuing spirit of the early Church with that of paganism, it may be well to take social positions and worldly circumstances into account. Rome was the Mistress of the World, by military force. In Art, Science and Philosophy, she was no less dominant, in the world's estimate and her own. The gods she enacted to be objects of worship, whether brutal emperors dead and deified, or the creations of Art, were backed by all this force of arms and of learning, and bowed down to, whether believed in or not—they were the gods of the State. The earliest Christians were probably foreigners, a tolerated class. The first converts, with few exceptions (if any), were from the lowest classes—slaves, laborers, mechanics; for the calling was, "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble," etc. By apostatising from the State religion, and embracing what was deemed a miserable superstition, whose Founder was "a crucified malefactor," they became doubly despised and detested by all "respectable" Romans. Their tombstones in the Lapidarian Gallery tell their story in contrast with those of their opposite heathen neighbors. Says Kenrick,—

"On the right hand wall, are encased the sepulchral and other monuments of Emperors, Consuls, Commanders of legions, with the numerous and pompous titles; inscriptions

[6] She is suspicious, however, lest some light may break forth. Dr. Maitland says—"In the year 1841, the writer applied for permission 'to copy some of the inscriptions contained in the Lapidarian Gallery;' and a license 'to make some memoranda in drawing' in that part of the Museum, was granted." On the last day of the license, the Doctor was officially informed that his permission did not extend to the inscriptions but only to a few blocks of sculpture scattered up and down the gallery. The demand for his copies being resisted, was finally modified, on his promise to copy no more inscriptions, and that those already made "should not be published *in Rome*."

Digitized by Google

to the gods and priests. The elaborate and tasteful ornaments, the finely cut letters, the classical Latinity—all indicate the rank and station of those by whom, or in whose honor, they were raised. On the left are the Christian monuments, chiefly supplied by the Catacombs. . . . . The slabs from their tombs are of coarse material—not Parian or Carrara marble, or Egyptian porphyry—the letters are rudely made, the spelling and syntax betray the humble rank and the imperfect literary attainments of those who supplied them. . . . . But to this contrast there is another side. The heathen monuments represent a decayed and dying superstition; the Christian a living and triumphant faith—'the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty' (1 Cor. i. 27.) Their inscriptions speak of resignation, peace, confidence—their emblems, the Good Shepherd, the Anchor, the Ark of Noah—all breathe the same peaceful, humble, yet hopeful spirit." pp. 53–60.

Thus exalted in sentiment, and purified in manners and morals, by their new and living faith, their efforts in art, however rude, were lifted far above those of the pagan teachers of the world in all that gives moral worth and dignity to human productions. Says Rev. Mr. Withrow—" As Christianity was the very antithesis of paganism in spirit, so its Art was singularly free from pagan error. There are no wanton dances of nude figures, like those upon the walls of Pompeii, but chaste pictures with figures clothed from head to foot; or, where historical accuracy required the representation of the undraped form, as in pictures of our first parents in the garden of Eden, or of the story of Jonah, they are instinct with modesty and innocence. Pagan Art, a genius with drooping wing and torch reversed, stood at the door of death, but cast no light upon the world beyond. Christian Art, inspired with lofty faith, pierced through the vail of sense, beyond the shadows of time, and beheld the pure spirit soaring above the grave, like essence rising from an alembic, in which all the grosser qualities of matter are left behind. Hence only images of Hope and tender joy were employed. There is no symptom of the despair of paganism; scarce even of natural sorrow "

Digitized by Google

So, also, Mr. Hemans[7] who says—"Together with characteristics of brevity and simplicity, we notice in these epitaphs a serene spirit of resignation that never allows vent to passionate utterance; the word '*dolens*' is the strongest expression of sorrow, and this but rarely occurring." Page 46.

Dr. Maitland says that the Christian epitaphs "express the feeling of a body of Christians whose leaders alone are known to us in history. The Fathers of the Church live in their voluminous works; the lower orders are only represented by these simple records, from which, with scarcely an exception, sorrow and complaint are banished; the boast of suffering, or an appeal to the revengeful passions is nowhere to be found. One expresses Faith, another Hope, a third Charity. The genius of primitive Christianity—'TO BELIEVE, TO LOVE AND TO SUFFER'—has never been better illustrated. These 'sermons in stones' are addressed to the heart, and not to the head; to the feelings, rather than to the taste; and possess additional value from being the work of the purest and most influential portion of 'the Catholic and Apostolic Church' then in existence." Page 13.

These lowly and loving people — deemed weak, foolish, wicked, by the Roman world—professed their faith though opposed by the Science, philosophy and culture of Roman Art and civilization, and upheld their Church against the might and majesty, the State religion and priesthood of the Mistress of the World. But though thus firm and faithful "amid circumstances of unexampled trial," (in the words of Mr. Hemans,) "amidst all the provocations of calumny, persecutions, the liabilities to degrading punishment and tortur-

[7] All the authors named at the head of this article are, we believe, Episcopalians But Mr. Hemans (son of Mrs. Hemans, the poet,) though reared in the Church of England, became a Roman Catholic. He went to Rome for the double purpose of studying Art, and confirming his faith in his newly embraced church, at its seat of power and amid the evidence of its claims. But the more he examined these early monuments, the weaker grew his confidence, till, sadly and reluctantly, he turned from Romanism to look elsewhere for a church in which his soul might *rest*. He seems equally unwilling to return to the English church. The desertion of primitive doctrines and practices by the Romish church—its neglect to teach the Scriptures to its members, and to conform to primitive customs, are plainly but sadly condemned.

Digitized by Google

ing death—while the Christians were accused of atheism, considered to be (as Tacitus says) convicted of hatred to the human race—not one expression of bitter or vindictive feeling, not one utterance of the sorrow that is without hope, can be read upon these monumental pages,—but on the contrary, the intelligible language of an elevated spirit and calmly cheerful temper, hope whose faith never burns dim, faith serenely steadfast, a devotional practice fraught with divine mysticism, yet distinguished by simplicity and repose—altogether a moral picture evincing what is truly godlike in man." Pp. 39, 40.

A lowly, uneducated class, thus villified, bitterly persecuted with severest tortures ending in terrific deaths, yet breathing no complaints, no appeals to pity or to passion, no threats, is unparelled except in Christian history, and seldom there except in the records of the Catacombs. In a reverse of conditions, what would pagan monuments have uttered?—what, modern Catholic?—what, nearly all our Protestant churches? Is it even probable that those early Christians believed in a wrathful God, a vindictive Christ, and a day of burning judgment and vengeance at the end of time, and yet did not summon their persecutors to meet them "at the bar of God?" There is no such painting or inscription —no reference to any change of respective conditions after death—no intimation whatever, of the kind.

That this utter absence of future vengeance may be more deeply impressed, we add the declaration of Raoul Rochette, as quoted by Dr. Maitland and others, "To look at the Catacombs alone, it might be supposed that persecution had there no victims, since Christianity has made no allusion to suffering. . . . . Perhaps I may be allowed to add, that a series of paintings like those in San Stefano in Rotonda, filled with all the scenes of barbarity which the rage of executioners could devise, or the constancy of martyrs support, honors less the faith which inspires such images, or which resisted such trials, than the paintings of the Catacombs, generally so pure, so peaceful in their object and intention, where

Digitized by Google

it seems the gospel ought to have met with no enemies, appearing so gentle, so ready to forgive." [8] We know nought of the reprobated painting in San Stefano, but in reference to the world's famous fresco of Michael Angelo, in the Sistine chapel, (of the last judgment,) we ask—Is it even *possible* that the all-pervading spirit of that early Church in the Catacombs, would have approved that blasphemous representation of the wrathful Father, and His vindictive Son, savagely co operating with malicious fiends in thrusting agonizing mortals of all ages and sexes into the unending sufferings of the fiery hell beneath? Those suffering, loving, forgiving saints and martyrs of that early Church, have left no such lesson—no intimation of faith in such a Father—such a Saviour—such a destiny for any of our race; as their uniform and entire Christian spirit testifies, and as an examination of their various memorials will show, in our next article.

Article XXIV.

Critical and Exegetical Notes, on Certain Controverted Texts of Scripture.

The majority of expositions of Scripture, constituting the body of the Exegesis peculiar to Universalists, was based chiefly upon the Common English Version rather than upon a critical examination of the Greek or Hebrew, as the case might be. The result is that, remarkably accurate and sound, as nearly all of them are, they do not, nevertheless, represent the full strength of the interpretation, in many instances, nor all the evidence going to support it, which the original Greek or Hebrew affords; owing to inexact and often positively erroneous translations. Thus, a critical review of these expositions, on the basis of the original Text, would serve frequently to place our Exegesis on a still firmer foun-

[8] The work from which these lines are quoted, is interdicted in Rome. Comment is needless.

Digitized by Google

dation than that now claimed for it; and this especially for two reasons: —

1st. That the authors of the King James' Translation were bound, by the so-called rule of "the analogy of the Faith"; that is, forbidding them to render any passage in such manner, as to contradict the established creed. The consequence has been, that the rendering of many controverted Texts is such, that no impartial criticism can justify it.

2d. Since the opening of the Trinitarian and Universalist controversies, in the present century, there have been published many new editions of the Greek Testament, embodying thousands of emendations of the Rec'd Text, nearly all of them by scholars wholly under the influence of the popular theology, which influence would naturally bias their judgment, often times, as to the correct reading of controverted passages. Finally, the recent Revised Version comes to us, as the product of a scholarship also wholly moulded, for the most part, under the influence of the old theology. Even the few Unitarians, upon the Board of Revisers, were probably but slightly acquainted with the distinctive Universalist Exegesis.

The result of the facts here stated is, that we have to deal with both a Greek Text and a translation of the same, which have come to us bearing the imprint on almost every page, of a prepossession and influence hostile to our theology and to our Exegesis. Here, then, is work for our denominational scholarship; to go over this whole field, so far as relates to our peculiar doctrinal system, and search out and expose, as well as correct, every instance of an undue, partisan influence, conscious or unconscious, in moulding the Scriptures to suit the prevailing belief. But this great and difficult work can never be done alone, by the few professional critics among us. May we not hope, in fact, that some few at least, of those enjoying the superior advantages of our Colleges and Divinity Schools, will be willing to forego the prospects of ample salaries, and of renown as preachers, and to devote their lives to scholarship, to hard, patient, unrecognized

Digitized by Google

labor, in the great field of Sacred Criticism; so that, ere long we too, may number our Griesbachs, our Blomfields, Arnolds, and Tischenderfs? In the mean time, however, a beginning should be made, even if by those less qualified for such a work; and it is in this feeling that we attempt, in this article, to exhibit a few specimens of the treatment of controverted texts, by those in authority.

I. *Bending the knee to Jesus, etc.* Is. xlv. 23–25; Rom. xiv. 11; Phil. ii. 10, 11.

As will be understood, the Apostle in Romans and Philippians quotes from Isaiah; thus we give our first attention to the Prophet's language, which reads as follows: —

(23) "I have sworn by myself, the word is gone out of my mouth *in* righteousness, and shall not return, (24) That unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear. (25) Surely shall *one* say, In the Lord have I righteousness and strength."

The chief uncertainty, respecting this passage, regards the correct rendering of the two clauses connecting the two verses. Bishop Lowth translates them thus: "surely to me shall every tongue swear. Saying only to Jehovah belongeth salvation and power" (Notes *in loc.*) Gesenius renders the 24th verse: "Only through Jehovah, says one of me, is salvation and power." The doubtful phrase in vs. 24, is in Heb., the following: אַךְ בַּיהוָה לִי אֹמַר; of which אַךְ is a particle having the double sense of "surely, certainly," and "only, one," etc. The other particle, לִי, is prefix preposition, with the sense of "to me." Thus, we may translate; "*surely* shall say to me," or "shall say to me: *Only* in Jehovah," etc. We cannot use the first particle twice: '*Surely* shall *one* say,' etc. There is no verb "to have" in the Heb., thus: "*have I* righteousness and strength;" we must supply the copula, thus: "In Jehovah *is* righteousness and strength." We may then translate the two clauses entire; "Unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear; Surely shall say to me: In Jehovah *is* righteousness and strength." The last clause repeats what every tongue shall swear. The rendering of the Septuagint is very nearly; "That to me every

Digitized by Google

knee shall bow, and every tongue shall confess to God, saying: To Him shall be righteousness and glory."

We come now to Paul's quotation in Romans xiv. 11: "*As* I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God." Instead of *confess* to God," The Rev's. Version places in the margin: *give praise* to God," which is correct. Robinson, under the verb εξομολογέω, from which the verb in the text is derived, remarks: "hence, *middle*, 'to make acknowledgment' for benefits, *i.e.* 'to give thanks, praise,' followed by dative of person" (Gr. Lex. N. T.) This is exactly the construction in our passage; the verb is in the middle voice, and is followed by a dative of person. Lange (*in loc.*) renders this verb by "give praise." Dr. Riddle, Lange's translator remarks (*in loc.*) that: "Meyer says the verb with the dative *always* means *to praise.*" The proper version of the entire passage is then as follows: "As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, *and every tongue shall give praise to God.*" The facts before us, as will be seen at once, settle forever the positive, universalistic sense of the passage. The usual objection, that this confession may be, on the part of many, only unwillingly extorted, must now be given up, on the authority of such critics as Robinson, Lange, Meyer, and others. Let us go now to the passage in Philippians ii. 9–11: —

(9) "Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name; (10) That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of *things* in heaven, and *things* in earth, and *things* under the earth; (11) And *that* every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ *is* Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

The Apostle in this passage has added much to the language in Isaiah, by way of connecting it with Christ. The foregoing will be found not less positive and explicit, as to its doctrinal import, than the passage in Romans. Yet the force of it, as a Universalist Text, has been greatly weakened by an inexcusable error in the Com. Version, which is followed by the Rev. Version. The inaccuracy consists in the use of the neuter *things*, instead of the masculine *beings*, or *persons*, which

Digitized by Google

the Gr. Text employs. We give here the Gr. Text of vs. 10, followed by a literal translation, chiefly after Lange: —

"*Ινα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ, ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων*—In order that, in the name of Jesus, every knee may bow, of *beings* in heaven, and *beings* on earth, and *beings* in Hades."

In his notes on this verse, Lange remarks that it: "Comprises the entire realm of worshipping creatures. *Τῶν ἐπουρανίων* are the angels (See Eph. i. 20, 21; Heb. i. 46); *των ἐπιγείων*, men on the earth, *των καταχθονιων*, the dead in Hades. The words must not be taken as neuter (Beza)." Robinson under the first term cites this passage, giving the sense as "angels," under the second term, "persons," citing this text, and under the last term, "put for *Hades* and its inhabitants," again citing this passage. It is only the neuter *τὰ ἐπίγεια*, according to him, which denotes "earthly *things*," and so the neuter of the other terms (See *s. v.*) In view, now, of these facts, on what grounds, except to disguise the real doctrine of the passage, can we account for the use of the neuter *things* by the Com. Version, and especially by the Revs. Version? But that which is really ridiculous is the implication of this rendering, that inanimate *things* have *knees* to bow!

As regards the 11th verse: "That every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father," it is to be observed that the term *confess*, here, has the same verb as Rom. xiv. 11, in the original, found also in the middle voice; showing that this confession, in both passages is of the same nature, being that of sincere, voluntary worship and praise. Such is the opinion of Lange, who remarks: —

"To the outward, inarticulate expression (of bowing the knee), *καὶ* (vs. 11) adds still another, the eloquent homage breaking forth from the heart and confessing itself to Him. What the bending of the knee indicates, the tongue expresses (Wiesinger). In *πάσα* the three categories are included as in *πᾶν γόνυ*. To refer it therefore to *πάντα τὰ ἔθνε* (all nations) according to Theodoret, is erroneous; as also to take it *pro*

Digitized by Google

omni idiomate (all languages), according to Beza." (Notes *in loc.*)

We see here the impartial, conscientious critic, dealing with the subterfuges of such partisans as Beza, whom Dr. Campbell deliberately charges with false renderings of texts, for the avowed purpose of disguising the Universalism involved in them. But we may now assume to have proved beyond question: 1st. That the phrase, "every knee shall bow," is predicated absolutely by Paul, of all moral, finite beings.[1] 2d. That the phrase, "every tongue shall confess," is equally universal in its scope, while both denote voluntary worship and praise. The same is to be said as well of the passage in Isaiah as of those in Romans and Philippians.

We append here the Syriac and Vulgate Versions of the texts in Rom. and Phil., thus, Murdock's Syriac, Ro. xiv. 11: "As I live, saith the Lord, to me every knee shall bow; and to me *every tongue shall give praise.*" Phil. ii. 10 11: "That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of [beings] in heaven, and on earth, and under the earth; and that every tongue should confess," etc. Then the Vulgate, Douay Version, Ro. xiv. 11: "As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me; and every tongue shall confess to God." Phil. ii. 10, 11: That in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of those that are in heaven, on the earth, and under the earth; and that every tongue should confess," etc.

II. *The Expectation of the Creation.* Romans viii. 19–21.

No more important passage was ever penned by the Apostle to the Gentiles, than the one here cited, of which the Com. Version reads: —

(19) "For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God. (20) For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of Him who hath subjected *the same* in hope; (21) Because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the children of God."

1 NOTE. In accordance with widely prevalent notions prevailing in later antiquity, the entire *Kosmos* consisted of three chief divisions; heaven, earth, and hades; these being inhabited by saints and angels, by men in the flesh, and by the dead generally. Such were common conceptions and expressions for the entire moral creatton, and it occurs several times in the Gr. Testament.

Digitized by Google

Perhaps the chief fault of this version is the rendering of the Greek *ἡ κτίσις* by *creature* instead of uniformly by *creation*, as the Revs. Version has done throughout the entire passage. Again, the phrase, "the glorious liberty" is incorrect, the true rendering being "the liberty of the glory," which is adopted by the New Version. With these two emendations, the Com. Version is very nearly correct, and the Universalism of the passage thus translated, is quite apparent. But Westcott and Hort, in their recent critical edition of the Greek Text, by a simple change in the punctuation, in which they are followed by the Revisers, changing also the rendering of a single particle, have essentially weakened, if not entirely obscured the universalistic sense of the passage. To illustrate these manipulations, we must show here the Gr. Text of the two clauses immediately connecting the 20th and 21st verses: —

(20) *Οὐχ εκοῦσα ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ὑποτάξαντα ἐφ' ἐλπίδι* (21) *ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται*; (20) "Not of its own will, but by reason of Him who subjected *it*, *in hope* (21) that the creation itself also shall be delivered." (Revs. Vers.)

Here, instead of: "Subjected *it in hope; because* the creation," we have *in hope* disconnected from that which precedes (vs. 20), and joined to that which follows (vs. 21); while the causal conjunction *because*, is changed to the simple connective *that*. In this way, instead of the direct, positive statement, that 'creation *shall* be delivered,' we have only 'the *hope* that it shall be delivered;' introducing contingency and uncertainty into the entire passage. The important question for us is, then; Whether these changes are justified, or are to be regarded as unauthorized? What are the grounds for removing the semi-colon of the Rec'd Text, after *ἐφ ἐλπίδι*, "in hope?" and what are the reasons for altering the rendering of *ὅτι* immediately following, from *because* to *that*, a simple connective? These are points which demand a searching investigation.

1st. These changes completely sever the thread of the Apostle's argument, contained especially in vs. 18–24. He has employed a particle with the sense of *for* or *because*, to

Digitized by Google

introduce the proof in one verse of a positive statement in the verse preceding. Thus, γὰρ, *for*, introduces in the 18th verse, the proof of the statement in the 17th; while the same particle introduces the proof in the 19th verse, of the statement made in the 18th; so of the 20th verse; and then in the 21st, ὅτι, with the sense of *for* or *because*, introduces the proof of the statement in the 20th verse; namely, that creation had been subjected *in hope*, that is, *because* creation itself shall be delivered, etc. Now, it is this thread of the argument throughout the passage, which these changes completely interrupt and destroy. Such is, then, one objection to the alterations under examination.

2d. The actual force of ὅτι in the 21st verse. Winer states that: "ὅτι refers in general to some *matter of fact* under consideration; and hence signifies both *that* and *because*."[2] We know that the term *that* often has the sense of *because;* but as used by the Revisers in vs. 21, it is a simple connective. But while, according to the Com. Version, vs. 21 involves a *matter of fact*, according to the Revs. Version, it is wholly an uncertainty; a mere *hope that*, etc. Undoubtedly, this particle is often employed as a simple connective, as well as in the sense of *because;* so that it is to be determined in which sense it is to be taken in this instance. Beside the indications in favor of the meaning of *because* already noted, it is to be stated, also,—

3d. That the Latin Vulgate renders ὅτι (vs. 21) by *quia*, whose distinct causal sense is not questioned. Zumpt observes that "*Quia* and *quod* differ from *quoniam* in this; the former indicate a definite and conclusive reason."[3] Thus, *quia* in the Vulgate gives the reason, or proof (vs. 21) of the statement in the verse preceding; the proof, namely, that the creation has been subjected *in hope;* this proof being the fact that creation shall be delivered, etc. We say the *fact* that it *shall be*, not the mere *hope* that it shall be.

4th. Another indication here is the various reading, διότι, given by Griesbach, in his table cited by Mill. Robinson (*s. v.*) defines this term as; "on account of this that, for this reason

[2] New Test. Gram p. 445. [3] Latin Gram. Sec. 346. 3d Edit. by Anthon.

Digitized by Google

that, *i. e. because, for.*" The sense of *because*, in fact, is undoubted. Now the simple fact that there was a various reading having the strongest sense of *because*, indicates that general opinion attached this meaning to ὅτι, even if διότι was not in reality the original reading. As to which was the original reading, the internal evidence favors decidedly the variant; for we cannot account for the change of an original ὅτι into διότι; but an oversight of the first element δι, in copying is quite reasonable to suppose.

5th. The indicative mood following ὅτι supposes a *matter of fact*, a certainty, and not a mere *hope*, contingency, uncertainty. Referring to ὅτι and its appropriate moods, Jelf remarks that: "Any event may be represented by language either as a physical fact, or as a mental act—as having an actual existence in the external world, or as having a mental existence in the shape of a *belief*, *impression*, *conception* (to which we may add *hope*), or some other act of the mind. . . . . If the event is to be represented in the former light, it is spoken of in the *Indicative;* if in the latter, it is in the *Optative.*" Again, "Hence the indicative is used in any of its tenses when a fact or certainty is spoken of; the optative, when the thing spoken of is represented as an uncertainty, a supposition."[4] Now the verb, "shall be delivered," following ὅτι (vs. 21), is in the indicative future, and thus denotes a matter of fact, a certain event; and the Com. Version, rendering ὅτι by *because*, harmonizes fully with this verbal construction. But the Revs. Version, following West. and Hort's punctuation, converts this matter of fact into a matter of hope, of mere contingency and uncertainty, requiring the optative mood instead of the indicative. We must regard these changes, then, as wholly without authority. Certainly the indicative, *shall be delivered*, in the nice distinctions of Greek Syntax, can denote only a certain event.[5]

[4] Gr. Gram. Vol. ii. Sec. 801, 802.

[5] NOTE. Stuart, under "adverbial conjunctions," "expressive of ground or reason," says: "These are ὅτι, διότι," etc. "Hence the indicative is the usual mode. . . . The optative when *conditional supposition* is expressed." (See New Test. Gram., Sec. 156.) It is obvious from this that when the indicative follows ὅτι, as in the text, it is to be taken as causal, meaning *for* or *because*, instead of the simple con-

Digitized by Google

6th. Precisely the same phrase, as this before us, is found in Acts ii 26, 27; thus: ἐπ' ἐλπίδι; closing vs. 26, and ὅτι, opening vs. 27. Here West. and Hort place a semi-colon after ἐλπίδι following the Rec'd Text both here and in Romans; and the Revs. Version translates here by "*in hope: because*," etc., like the Com. Version both here and in Romans, thus: (26) "My flesh also shall dwell *in hope:* (27) *because* thou wilt not leave my soul in Hades" (Revs. Ver.) On what grounds, then, have West. and Hort, while following the Rec'd Text in Acts, altered the punctuation in Romans? On what ground, again, has the Revs. Version, while following the Com. in Acts, made an essential departure from it in Romans? We are unable to see any other reason than this: The passage in Acts does not teach Universalism, however we translate it; while a like rendering of the same phrase, in Romans, converts the passage into the most palpable and positive Universalism. The Com. Version avoids this by the inconsistent rendering of ἡ κτίσις by *creature*, in vs. 21, instead of by *creation*, correctly adopted by the Revs. Version. Neither version gives the actual force of the original in Romans. Each, in its own way, contrives to disguise the real doctrinal import of the passage. But we conclude the remarks under this head with our own version of the entire text: —

(19) "For the earnest expectation of the creation waiteth for the revelation of the Sons of God. (20) For the creation was subjected to vanity, not willingly, but by Him who subjected *it* in hope: (21) Because also the creation itself shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the liberty of the glory of the children of God."

III. *All shall be taught of God.* John vi. 45: —

"It is written in the Prophets: And *they* shall be all taught of God" (Com. Ver.) "And *they* shall all be taught of God" (Rev. Ver.) The Saviour is supposed to quote here

nective *that*. Finally, Jelf states again that:—"The proper notion of the future indicative is of an action not as yet really happening, but conceived *as certain to happen hereafter*," (Vol. ii. Sec. 418). It will be seen that the phrase: "in hope that," etc., expresses no such certainty, yet the future indicative follows. This rendering is thus wrong; the Com. Vers. is alone correct, since it expresses certainty.

Digitized by Google

from Is. liv. 13; "And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord;" and Jer. xxxi. 34: "For *they* shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord." In the original Hebrew Text, the suffix pronoun *they* is used; but the translation of the LXX omits it; and the Saviour omits it in his quotation. But the Com. Version restores it, and is followed in this by the Revs. Version. The author of Hebrews, quoting the language as part of the New Covenant (Hebrews viii. 11), discards the pronoun. The question arises, then, as to the grounds on which these two Versions have introduced this pronoun *they*, when nothing corresponding to it is used by the Saviour in the original. The Gr. Text reads thus: *καί ἔσονται παντες διδακτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ*: — "And all shall be taught of God." Now, it is perfectly transparent that the introduction of the pronoun *they*, by the authors of the Com. and Revs. Versions, when nothing corresponding to it is used in the original, was done with a definite, deliberate motive. What was that motive? With this pronoun omitted, the Universalism of the passage is so plain and positive that no one can deny it. But by introducing it, the inference is possible that only the Jews, as in the original Hebrew, are to be understood; or at least some particular, limited class. But that which may originally have been applied exclusively to the Israelites, the Saviour, purposely, and the author of Hebrews (8, 11), by omitting the pronoun, apply to all (*πάντες*) without any limitation. The Vulgate, also omits the pronoun, thus: *Et erunt omnes docibiles Dei;* "And all shall be taught of God." The Peshito Syriac, however, has the pronoun, *they all;* but the Gr. and Vulg. Texts evidently represent the true reading. Thus, there seems to be no authority whatever, for the use of the term *they* in the Com. and Revs. Versions. It simply serves to weaken the universalist sense of the passage, and that is the most we can say respecting it.

IV. *The Judgment-seat of Christ.*: 2 Cor. v. 10.

The Rev. Version of this text is as follows: "For we must all be made manifest before the judgment-seat of Christ; that

Digitized by Google

each one may receive the things *done* in the body, according to what he hath done, whether *it be* good or bad." Instead of "*in* the body," the Revisers place *through* in the margin, as the rendering of *διὰ*, *by*, *through*, but rarely *in*. The Com. Version will be familiar to the reader. We give below the Gr. original accompanied by our own rendering: —

Τοὺς γὰρ πάντας ἡμᾶς φανερωθῆναι δεῖ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ χριστοῦ, ἵνα κομίσηταί ἕκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος, πρὸς ἃ ἔπραξεν, εἴτε ἀγαθόν, εἴτε κακόν; — "For we must all be made to appear before the judgment-seat of Christ; in order that each one may receive the things through (*in*) the body, according to that he hath done, whether good or bad."

The verb "to appear" being passive, should be, "made to appear," or "made manifest," according to the Rev. Version. The term *ἵνα*, being a particle of design, and having here its natural force as such, is properly rendered *in order that* in stead of *that*, simply (See Robinson s. v.) The words *done* and *it be*, in italics, are supplied by the two Versions named. But they are unnecessary, while the first is positively incorrect. Of course, the authors of the Com. Version, being bound by the rule of the "analogy of the Faith," could not allow the text to teach that each one receives his reward in the body, and consequently is judged, also, in the body, the judgment-seat being in this world. Thus, they were induced to supply the word *done* after "things," as if it was "things *done*" that the Apostle meant, instead of "things *received*." But the authors of the New Version were not bound by any such rule, or analogy of the Faith; yet they have followed the Com. Version. Recurring now to the Gr. Text just given, we have, "in order that (*ἵνα*) each one (*ἕκαστος*) may receive (*κομίσηται*) the things" (*τα*). Here, *τὰ* "things" is the direct object of the verb "may receive" (*κομίσηται*). But these "things" are received "through" or "*in* the body" (*διὰ του σώματος*). Both versions render *διὰ* by *in*; thus: "*in* the body;" the "things," *τα*, are received "*in* the body." These "things" are the reward received "according to that he hath done, whether good or bad." But the two versions make of *τα*, not

Digitized by Google

the things received, as reward, but "things *done*, according to that he hath *done*," using the verb ἔπραξεν, "done," twice in the same clause! A more complete mangling of a Gr. passage can hardly be conceived than this rendering. We can receive reward *for* things done, but how can we receive the *things done*, themselves? The phrase, as rendered, contains no proper sense. To make sense, the translators should say: "May receive *for* the things *done*, in the body," etc. But this would be also to trifle with the Inspired Word. The Gr. τα, "things" refers to things *received*, not to things *done;* it is, as said before, the direct object of the verb "may receive." So, too, as before said, the things are received "*in* the body;" they are the reward, "according to that he hath done," etc. As will be seen the passage before us, properly rendered, teaches the doctrine of present rewards and punishments, and consequently, that the judgment-seat is in the present world, and not in eternity. It is strictly parallel with Matt. xvi. 27, 28; "For the Son of Man shall come . . . and then shall He reward every man *according to his works*." The next verse states that He would come before the last of His Apostles died. Another parallel text is 1 Pet. iv. 5; "Him that *is ready to judge* the quick and the dead." Christ was then about to come in his kingdom, to sit on his throne of judgment, and reward thenceforth every man according to his works. All appertained to the Gospel Kingdom, and to the present world. By way of confirmation of our own rendering and interpretation of the Gr. Text, we subjoin the text of the Vulgate, with a translation of the same.

Omnes enim nos manifestari oportet ante tribunal Christi, ut referat unusquisque propria corporis, prout gessit, sive bonum sive malum;—"For it is necessary that we all be made manifest before the tribunal of Christ, in order that every one may receive his own things of the body, according as he has done, whether good or bad."

To this we add Dr. Murdock's version of the Peshito Syriac, knowing his extremely orthodox tendencies as a translator:—"For we are all to stand before the judgment seat of the Mes-

Digitized by Google

siah, that each may receive retribution in the body (for) what he hath done in it, whether of good, or whether of evil." The term *for* in parenthesis is supplied by the translator. If the phrase, "may receive *retribution in the body* for what *he hath done in it*," is not sufficiently direct, plain and positive, in respect to the doctrine of rewards and punishments in the present life, showing also that the judgment-seat of Christ is in this present world, one must be very exacting in his de mands. Compare, then, the evidences now before us, with the miserable treatment of this passage, by the Com. and Revs. Versions; — and this in the name of the best scholarship of our times!

V. *Destruction of the last enemy.* 1 Cor. xv. 26.

"The last enemy *that* shall be destroyed *is* death" (Com. Vers). "The last enemy that shall be abolished is death" (Revs Ver). The Com. Version indicates by italics the words *that* and *is*, as supplied; but the New Version, although using the same terms, affords us no such intimation. The substitution of *abolished* for *destroyed* by the Revision is correct, yet the other rendering is just as correct; the verb has its weaker and stronger sense; and the general scope of the passage must determine which is to be employed. But the introduction of the terms *that* and *is*, is wholly without authority. The Gr. Text is as follows: ἔσχατος ἐχθρὸς καταργεῖται ὁ θάνατος; — "The last enemy, death, is to be abolished (or destroyed)." The verb is not in the future, *shall be*, but in the present indicative passive; *is* or *is to be*. The word θάνατος, "death," takes here the article, which shows, according to Robinson (*s. v.*) that death is to be understood as personified as the King of *Hades*. The term ἔσχατος means the *last*, *uttermost;* of place, the *remotest*; of time, the *last*, *latest*, (Rob. *s. v.*) The idea that a still later enemy exists, which is not to be destroyed, which the Com. and Revs. Versions imply, is utterly foreign from the text, as every scholar knows; yet the New Version, seeks to perpetuate this idea. But we add again the testimony of the Syriac. Dr. Murdock's Version of this passage reads thus: "And the last

Digitized by Google

enemy, death, will be abolished:" The Vulgate reads: — Novissima autem inimica destruetur mors; "And the last enemy, death, shall be destroyed." The Douay Version of the Vulg. saves the passage to the old theology by this rendering: "And the enemy, death, shall be destroyed last." This allows it to be understood, that still other enemies exist, which are never to be destroyed. But it is a positive fact, that the Gr. Text contains no such idea; but affirms the abolition of death as *the last enemy*. The Syriac and Latin Versions confirm the same doctrine.

The practical examples that have been now placed before the reader, of the treatment of controverted texts of Scripture, by both the Com. and Revs. Versions will be sufficient to illustrate the nature and extent of the work, which, as it appears to us, most urgently needs to be done by our scholars. With such ability as we could command, we have made a beginning, yet only a beginning; for to go over the whole ground of these forced constructions of the Gr. Text, would be to write a volume.

Article XXV.

Literary Remains of Emanuel Deutsch.[1]

This book opens with a brief biography of the author. He was a Jew by birth, education, and lifelong conviction. His first teacher was an uncle, a learned Rabbi, who had made the Talmud "a speciality;" and from this uncle, the young Emanuel derived that love for oriental literature which seems to have been the "ruling passion" of his life. He entered the University at Berlin, before reaching the age required by the institution, and graduated with the highest honors. In 1855, when twenty-six years of age, he became connected with the British Museum, that store house of antiquity. After

[1] Literary Remains of the Late Emanuel Deutsch, with a brief Memoir. 8 v., pp. 465. New York. Henry Holt and Company.

Digitized by Google

eighteen years of incessant study, the hardest kind of work, he died in Alexandra, Egypt, in 1873, deeply loved and admired for his amiable disposition and brilliant genius.

Mr. Deutsch was not only a student, antiquarian and linquist; he was a brilliant writer. His pages glow with life and are crowded with important facts. They breathe the spirit, not of the dogmatist, or sectarian, but of the true Christian. He seems to be filled with the spirit of the old Roman, who boasted that he was a man and all that benefited his race was important and dear to him. To him the God of Abraham was the Universal Father. To him the Mosaic Dispensation was a system designed to regenerate the race. To him Christ, Zoroaster and Mohammed were the Sent of God, each on an errand of love and mercy to sinful man; each in his own way doing a good work.

Mr. Deutsch was a Jew. This fact is suggestive. The *vitality* of that race is, to us, a continual surprise. In the history of the world no nation has acted so prominent and beneficial a part; and no nation has been so fearfully persecuted and yet preserved its vitality. We are confident that our boasted civilization of the nineteenth century would never have existed, except in the minds of insane dreamers, or of inspired prophets, but for the race to which our author belonged. The Jews have given us some of our Sacred Books. Their songs are sung in our churches. Their heroes and heroines are our models of human perfection. Their moral code, as embraced in the Ten Commandments, enters into our modern life, and controls much of our legislation. In bequeathing to us the Sabbath, "the poor man's holiday," they have left us a legacy more precious than an imperial revenue. The Redeemer of the world was a Jew, and the greatest of the Apostles, if not the most influential of men, boasted that he belonged to this nation. He said, "I am a man and a Jew."[2]

Yet God, in the severity of His judgment, has not seemingly dealt so harshly with any nation. Since the destruction of their national existence by Nebuchadnezzar, nearly six cen-

[2] Acts xxii., 2.

Digitized by Google

turies before Christ, they have been wanderers. They found the Persians rather generous conquerors, but in their exile could not sing the songs of Zion in a strange land.[3] Yet some of them rose to stations of dignity and honor. Nehemiah was a cup-bearer to the king,[4] Daniel was the trusted servant of several sovereigns, Esther was the favorite wife of the famous Xerxes,[5] Mordecai was prime minister.[6] They were not much molested in their worship. Then schools were flourishing. They seemed to have the privilege of living under their own laws, and even the power of punishing criminals with death.[7] But in the general prosperity they were always ready to say, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem to my chief joy."[8]

But in addition to their sorrow for the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, they had continual cause for fear. Three great conspiracies were formed against them which, however, ultimately, were productive of good. The good and wise Daniel was thrown into the lion's den; the three children were cast into the furnace; the wily Haman, when seeking their destruction, said to the king, "There is a certain people scattered abroad among the people in all the provinces of thy kingdom, and their laws are diverse from all people; neither keep they the king's laws, and therefore, it is not for the king's profit to suffer them." This suggestion, backed by a bribe, caused an order to be issued for their destruction. The danger was averted by the beautiful Esther.[9]

When the most zealous of them were permitted to return, they encountered the fierce opposition of robber chieftains, who feared their opportunity for plunder would be lost if Nehemiah and his associates succeeded in rebuilding and fortifying Jerusalem.[10] They were hated, and hate is always ingenious to annoy. But they remained in comparative

[3] Ps. cxxxii. 2.
[4] Nehemiah ii. 2.
[5] This is now admitted.
[6] Book of Esther.
[7] Story of Susanna.
[8] Ps. cxxxvii., 5 and 6.
[9] Esther iii., 8 and 9.
[10] Book of Nehemiah.

Digitized by Google

safety for more than a century. The youthful Alexander of Macedon treated them kindly. But when his empire was broken up, Palestine was situated between the contending kingdoms of Egypt and Asia, and often felt the vengeance of the victorious rival. Yet it was not until Antiochus Epiphanes that their cup of bitterness was filled. This tyrant resolved to have one faith among the different races, which acknowledged his authority. The Jews obstinately refused to obey his mandate and were treated with ferocious cruelty. The Holy of Holies was polluted and the abomination that maketh desolate was set up." The Jews resisted to the utmost of their strength. But the king was strong. They were massacred on slight pretences. Thousands were seized and sold into slavery. Terrible edicts were issued against those who circumcised their children. Diligent search was made for their sacred books. They had no rights which the tyrant respected.

Amid the general gloom one gleam of light suddenly appeared. We refer to Judas Maccabæus, one of the noblest patriots and greatest captains of the world. But he could not effect the relief of his whole people; yet his admirable qualities, and the desire of the Romans, to whom he applied for for assistance, to weaken a powerful king, brought them temporary relief. The Syrians retired at the command of the Senate.[11] But in the protracted struggle for the Syrian throne, the unfortunate Jews were the sport of fortune. The Romans took possession of the country B. C. 63. With the exception of rapacious rulers, like Pilate, Festus and Felix, the Jews enjoyed comparative peace for many years; but darker days were at hand. The extortion of the procurators had made the condition of the country deadful. To add to the misery of the people, the Roman emperors, the vilest of men, demanded divine honors. The officers sent out from Rome, grew rich. The statues of the emperors were erected in the temple; the people were driven to despair. "Death to the Romans or ourselves," became the watchword. The rebellion

[11] The Two Books of Maccabees and Josephus.

Digitized by Google

spread rapidly and the best army of Rome and the most skillful General could with difficulty subdue it. The Jews defended themselves with the energy of despair. The Romans conquered. Jerusalem was destroyed, and a million of lives were thus sacrificed, while the captives were offered for sale in such countless numbers, that purchasers could not be found.[12] The steadfastness with which they clung to the faith of their fathers was stigmatized as obstinacy, and punished as a crime.

The speculator might have concluded that when Christianity became the State religion of the Roman Empire, the sufferings of the Jews would be lessened; but the reverse is true. The Romans were tolerant: sectarists were seldom molested, unless the emperors saw treason in their professions. The Christians gave their allegiance to another king than Cæsar, and were treated as traitors to the State. The Jews would not depart from the religion or customs of their fathers, and were also often punished as traitors. After Constantine established Christianity by law, the Jews, instead of being benefited by this revolution, were regarded as heretics and pursued with the ingenious devices of an intolerant zeal. For more than fifteen centuries they suffered as no race ever suffered. They felt the fulfilment of the ancient prediction: "In the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were evening! and at even thou shalt say, Would God it were morning! for the fear of thine heart wherewith thou shalt be afraid, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see."[13] Those who oppressed them thought they were serving God; those who favored them were threatened with the Divine wrath. If an army was defeated, the vanquished said, It is a Divine judgment because we are kind to the accursed race. If a plague swept over Europe, the Jews had poisoned the water. If a child was missing, the Jews had killed it, to mingle its blood with their sacrifices.[14] If the price of provisions rose because of a small harvest, the Jews had formed a

[12] Deut, xxviii., 65. [13] Deut. xxviii., 67.

[14] A mournful but correct description of their condition in the Middle Ages is found in Scott's Ivanhoe.

Digitized by Google

ring to raise the price of food. They were outraged and oppressed, cheated and tortured. They had no rights as citizens. Their industry and thrift were crimes. Their property wes conficated, their wives outraged, their daughters seized by licentious nobles, their children taken from them and educated as Christians and Turks.[15] They were a hissing and byword in Christian Europe. But still they lived and prospered. A better day dawned upon them with the declaration of our Independence. They were recognized as citizens.

We say that through these long nights of suffering they preserved their vitality. Less oppression for only three centuries, has so changed the character of the Mexicans and Peruvians, that Montezuma and Atahualpa would blush at the degeneracy of their people. The Greeks of Marathon would not acknowledge as their descendants the modern Greeks. The Italians are descendants from those who two thousand years ago conquered the world, but how unlike they are to their ancestors! The Jew still lives. In our own times the race has given to the world, in dramatic art a Rachel, in finance a Rothschild, in statesmanship a Beaconsfield, in musical composition a Mendelssohn, and in oriental literature a Deutsch. They have a wonderful history, and their future may astonish generations yet unborn. Even now their monotheism is becoming the faith of the Christian world.

The Jews, from the first organization of their commonwealth, were not permitted to have paintings or "graven images." They had very little of what the Greeks called Philosophy. Their great thinkers, taught no conflicting theories. With them, God was the Originator, Supporter and Governor of all things. Without speculating, to any great extent, about His nature, essence, or methods, they agreed that to fear, love and obey, were the objects of human thought and the duty of man. They might dispute on minor points, even as the Episcopalians are now disputing about Ritualism, but all used the formula, "Hear O Israel the Lord

[15] The last outrage of this kind occurred in 1858. But the wrathful indignation of the civilized world excited by the "Mortara case" will prevent its repetition

Digitized by Google

thy God is one God." And as they had but this one object of study, their familiarity with it was remarkable for the age.

Intimately connected with what we have just said, is their educational system. Mr. Deutsch informs us that after the captivity, schools abounded in every part of Palestine, and many of them were under the directions of teachers, eminent for virtue and acquirements. Thus, the Law spake of the Heavens, and the teacher must understand Astronomy. It spoke of the Earth, Animals, Plants, Natural History; the teacher must pass a satisfactory examination in Geology, Natural History, Botany and the Past of the nation. Our author also informs us that the education of children was considered an imperative duty, and, as the teachers served without pay, the poorest could learn to read and write. All the verses of Scripture that spoke of gardens and flowers were applied to teachers and children. Thus, "Do not touch mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm." The anointed were school children, and the prophets were teachers. They even called God the Pedagogue of men. The author quotes a story from the Talmud to show how dear the teachers were to the people, and to the people's God. There was a great drought, and the people prayed for rain. None came. At length an insignificant looking person prayed, and rain fell abundantly. "Who are you," the people demanded, "whose prayers have prevailed?" "I am a teacher of children;" and the people were satisfied. Many popular phrases bear on the same subject. "Jerusalém was destroyed because the education of children had been neglected;" "Even for the building of the Temple the schools must not be interrupted;" "The scholar is greater than a prophet;" "Study is more meritorious than sacrifice."

The Talmud. What is the Talmud? For centuries it was a terror to many pious souls. Some said it is a cunning device of the devil; that mighty wizards, like Michæl Scott, and even vulgar witches, learned from it their terrible power. Popes cursed it, and Potentates ordered it to be burned. One Capuchin said, "It is not a book, it is a man." We sup-

Digitized by Google

pose he meant, a kind of "Wandering Jew." But we learn from Mr. Deutsch, that it is a book which took the best minds among the Jews one thousand years to compose, and another thousand to explain. With the assistance of our author we may be able to learn something of the contents of the twelve large volumes which collectively are called The Talmud.

And first, it contains the Oral Law, which Moses delivered to the Elders, and which was preserved by tradition, until the Babylonish Captivity, when it was reduced to writing. It also contains the decisions of Civil and Ecclesiastical Courts, forms of Criminal Law; the wise sayings of wise men, the dreams of dreamers and the speculations of philosophers. It contains poetry and prose, facts and fiction, allegories and parables, the songs of victors, and the supplications of the vanquished; the boasts of the successful wrong-doer, "whose eyes stand out with fatness," and the humble confessions of the convicted penitent, whose clothing is rags and whose food is tears. It teaches confidence in Jehovah. All that thinking men have thought, all that martyrs have endured, all that the faithful have hoped, all the ambitious have desired or feared, are mixed together in one confused mass. Our author says, it shows us the teeming streets of Jerusalem just before the Advent, the tradesman at his work, the women in the domestic circle, the children at play in the market-place, the Priest and Levite ministering in the Holy Place, the preacher on the hillside, the story-teller and beggar. The world seems embalmed in it. It represents Athens, Alexandria, Persia, Rome and their civilizations and religion at every turn.

The Christian will be startled to find that forms or phrases with which he is familiar, were in common use before the Advent. Sermons ended with "And may you come to the Redeemer," and prayers began with "Our Father which art in heaven." Even technical words which are supposed to be of Christian origin, were of common use; such as "Redemption," "Grace," "Salvation," "Son of man" and "Kingdom of Heaven." There are invectives more bitter and caustic

Digitized by Google

than can be found in the New Testament against what it calls the "Plague of Pharisaism," while among the genuine Pharisees "were the most noble-minded, most patriotic, and the most advanced leaders of the Party of Progress."

After informing us that there existed in Jerusalem a benevolent association of women to give a stupefying drug to those who were crucified, our author gives us many quotations which involuntarily suggest passages in the teachings of Christ. We have space for a few examples: —

"Be of them that are persecuted, not of them that persecute." "There was a king who bade all his servants to a rich repast, but did not indicate the hour. Some went home and put on their best garments and stood at the gates of the palace. Others said, 'There is ample time; the king will let us know beforehand.' But the king summoned them of a sudden and those that came in their best garments were well received; the foolish ones, who came in their slovenliness, were turned away in disgrace." "Even the righteous shall not attain to so high a place in Heaven as the truly penitent." "When the pitcher falls upon the stone, woe to the pitcher; when the stone falls upon the pitcher, woe to the pitcher." "He who humiliates himself shall be lifted up; he who raises himself up shall be humiliated." "The day is short and the work great."

We cannot abbreviate the paragraph on Future Punishment, and therefore quote it: —

"There is no everlasting damnation, according to the Talmud. There is only temporary punishment for the worst of sinners. Generations upon generations shall last the damnation of idolaters, apostates, and traitors. There is a space of only two fingers breadth between Heaven and Hell. The sinner has but to repent sincerely, and the gates to everlasting bliss will spring open."

We could quote pages equally interesting, important, and suggestive to the Christian, but we will leave the Article on the Talmud and turn to that on

Islam.—Here we travel harmoniously with the eminent author, and find him an agreeable and instructive companion.

Digitized by Google

We wince a little at his evident partiality for Islamism, when he is comparing it with Christianity. He makes us blush when he tells us that the Mohammedans are not more intolerant than Christians. But we forgive him for telling us the truth, for he helps us, as no writer ever did before, to understand the great Arabian Apostle and appreciate the work of his life. He tells us, almost in confidence, about Mohammed, the early loss of his parents, his irksome dependence on a rich uncle, and his humble employment as a shepherd boy. We read the pages before us, and travel with the young camel driver, and note his observant looks and listen to his numerous questions, all on religious subjects. We share in his joy when a rich widow takes him into her service, and go with him through Arabia and Syria. We return with him to attend the wedding of the rich mistress and poor servant; he twenty-five years of age, and she over forty. He is now a full grown man with a broad chest and muscular arms. His black hair falls back on his shoulders, and his equally black beard reaches to his breast. His face is oval, brow high, eyes remarkably large and restless; his teeth are white and regular. We note the great dignity of his manner, yet he never turns his head without turning his whole body. He is naturally tactiturn, but, say his disciples, "His words are like apples of gold in pictures of silver." We notice the difference with which he treats his wife, the motherly Chadijah, even after she became "a toothless old woman." We see the dignified, melancholy man romping with children, never passing them without greeting them with a smile, and patting them on their cheeks with his small and beautiful hand. In later years, even, when he became famous, he loved to play with the dolls which his second wife, the young and beautiful Ayesha, brought to his house.

Soon a change comes over this gentle, silent man. He sits for hours in the deepest dejection. Home becomes irksome. The presence of human beings is distasteful. He seeks the solitude of the desert. After days of absence he returns, still more haggard and melancholy, but never morose. The

Digitized by Google

travail of his soul is fearful. There is a tradition that he contemplated suicide. When he cannot keep silent any longer, he tells the good Chadijah of his sorrows, his visions and his dreams. She at once hails him as the long-promised Messenger of God. But Mohammed still doubts, struggles, and almost despairs. More spiritual conflicts, visions and dreams give him courage to announce himself as a Prophet. His near relatives and friends hear him patiently and pity his insanity. The result of ten years labor was about the same number of converts. A colony of Jews heard of his preaching, and for a while hoped much from his mission and influence; but Mohammed wished to command, and the Jews wanted a servant.

About this time, Chadijah died. From the depth of his grief he rose a changed man. Curses fell from the lips of the once gentle man. He cursed those who opposed him, their fathers in their graves, and their unborn children. His party now increased, for the lofty dreamer placed himself on a level with vulgar passion. Dangers thickened around him. But the presence of danger dispelled his doubts. His courage rose. All Arabia soon acknowledged him. Visions of earthly gardens filled his mind. The glory of a sensual Paradise stimulated his disciples. He determined to convert, subject, or destroy the world. Messengers were sent to the Persian king and Greek emperor to give in their allegiance to the new Prophet. The Persian dismissed the messengers with contempt. The Greek murdered them. War was immediately declared against both. A race almost unknown, but which had driven back the Army of Pompey, and annihilated the legions of Augustus, deliberately determined to conquer the world, and but for dissension among themselves, might have made Europe Mohammedan instead of professedly Christian. But the Prophet did not live to see the end of the war. Poison, given him by a Jewess, closed his life and his personal work. He took a dignified and tender leave of his friends. As death approached his mind wandered. He was heard to murmur "Sons of Heaven

Digitized by Google

— Prophets — they fall down weeping — glorifying His majesty." He died with his head in the lap of his young wife.

It is very difficult to give an intelligent formula of Islamism. The task has often been attempted, but, so far as we know, these attempts have not been successful. Luther and Melancthon were in doubt which was the most to be hated or feared, the Pope or Mohammed or the devil; and the majority of Christians esteem heresy and Islamism as alike dangerous and pernicious. Our author devotes several pages to this subject, but they are the most unsatisfactory of the volume. At one time, the system appears like a prosyling system of Judaism; at another a corrupt form of Christianity. Behind the words "God is great and Mohammed is His prophet," we cannot go, without dissatisfying both Christian and Mussulman. This, however, we believe: That for a thousand years, the Mussulmen were not so intolerant as Christians. The unbelieving Jew and Christian could purchase safety; while heretics were never safe in Roman Catholic countries until modern civilization began. And as Hallam says, "The limits which Mohammedan intolerance had prescribed for itself were seldom transgressed; the word pledged to unbelievers was seldom forfeited; and with all their insolence and oppression, the Moslem conquerors were mild and liberal, compared with those who obeyed the Pontiffs of Rome and Constantinople." [16] There may be skepticism, in Constantinople, but there is none in Bokhara or Timbuctoo; while in Central Africa and Hindoostan Islamism threatens to overthrow idolatry and Brahminism.

But we are rapidly approaching the limits of a Magazine article. Yet while the book before us contains nineteen essays, we have noticed only two. To say that the other seventeen are interesting is to mock criticism. They are fascinating and instructive. Few essays in our language excel them as merely literary productions, while they are crowned with facts of the greatest importance to the teacher and

[16] Hallam's Middle Ages. Chap. vi.

Digitized by Google

believer. As we lay down the volume with a sigh, and muse, we find ourselves with a host of travellers, representing numerous nationalities. With them we enter the Holy City of Mecca, where Mohammed lived, preached, and died. As we approach the Caaba, the house of Allah, a voice from the minaret calls the faithful to prayer. With ten thousand pilgrims we drop on our knees and reverently touch the earth with our foreheads. A moment of oppressive silence follows. A clarion voice is then heard.

"In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate! whosoever is in Heaven or on the earth praises God, the King the Holy One, the Almighty and All-Wise. It is He who out of the midst of the illiterate Arabs has raised an Apostle to show unto them his signs, and to sanctify them, and to teach them the Scripture and the Wisdom; them who before had been in great darkness. This is God's free grace, which he giveth to whomsoever he will. God is of great mercy."

We rise from our devotional posture, and feel that it is difficult to believe that Mohammed was a conscious and blasphemous imposter.

Article XXVI.

Theories of Skepticism.—Pantheism.

Pantheism derives its name from the motto of the Greeks *ἓν καὶ πᾶν, i. e.*: "One and All," which was first announced by the philosopher Xenophanes.[1]

According to this view, God is the universe, and the universe is God. It teaches that Nature not only contains but exhausts God. Beyond and outside of the universe there is no infinite *Person* who is its cause. The only God known to Pantheism is Nature as constituted of life, force, and matter. As a system of thought it rejects the personalty of God, and ascribes all phenomena to impersonal force. To the Panthe-

[1] Modern Doubt and Christian Belief. By Theodore Christlieb, D.D. 1 vol. p. 161.

Digitized by Google

ist God is everything, and besides him there is nothing. Atheism says there is no God, Pantheism says all is God. Materialism says there is no spirit, Pantheism says all is spirit. It thus apparently differs from Atheism and Materialism; but the difference is more apparent than real, more in language than thought, more in form than substance. It agrees with Atheism in affirming that the universe is self-caused, and self-sustained, and reveals neither plan, purpose, nor will. It agrees with materialism in affirming that matter and spirit are different forms of the existence of one and the same substance. These three forms of skepticism are thus seen to be in substantial agreement in their theories of Matter, Nature, Life, Mind, and Morals. They agree in rejecting Theism, the personality of God, the doctrine of an overruling Providence, Divine Moral Government, the freedom and responsibility of man, and the immortality and future holiness and happiness of the soul.

"The fact that the Pantheistic view of the world is first met with among nations of Polytheistic Religions, such as the Hindus and Greeks, points to an internal relationship between *Polytheism* and *Pantheism* which is often overlooked." "The two seem opposed but when accurately considered, they are in principle the same."[2] The logical result of the doctrine that everything is God, is that man should worship everything.

The legitimate fruit of Pantheism is nature worship; for if nature is divine, and it is rational to worship the divine, it is rational to worship Nature. If every shrub, plant, tree, flower, animal and man are parts of God, and not only a form of divine manifestation, and a mode of divine action, but a mode of divine being, and a form of God's nature and substance, it is rational that they should be regarded as proper objects of worship. The fact is Pantheism and Polytheism have the same philos phical genesis, and the same logical development. The one is the philosophical, and the other the poetic expression of the same thought. Reject the theis-

[2] Modern Doubt and Christian Belief. p 161.

Digitized by Google

tic conception of the universe, and the logical alternative is Pantheism; while the refuge of the poet and mystic is Polytheism. Nature worship is the natural result of the influence of the Pantheistic philosophy upon the religious nature and life of man. The religion of Agnosticism is Pantheistic. The agnostic worships the unknown God, and the unknown God of the agnostic is the impersonal God, and unconscious intelligence of the pantheist. The logical outcome is practical, if not theoretical, atheism; for the reason, that for all the practical purposes of morality and religion, an unknown and impersonal God is not God at all. To reason and intelligence, that which is unknown has no existence, and to man's consciousness and conscience the impersonal can sustain no moral relations. Our duties are based upon moral obligation, obligation grows out of moral relations, and all moral relations are intelligent, rational, and personal; or relations between rational and moral persons.

It is thus seen that pantheism makes no provision for morals and religion, as it ignores alike the essential personality of man and of God, out of which all our moral and religious life grows. Obligation, duty, love, and worship are possible only under the personal and moral relations existing between personal beings; and as pantheism rejects God's personality, it makes no provision for the development of morality and religion among men. The impersonal may be admired; it cannot be loved. It may awaken emotions of beauty, sublimity, terror and dread, but it cannot awaken emotions of confidence, gratitude, love and reverence. Personal beings only can do this; and as these are the essential elements of all true religion, it follows that the impersonal nature of the God of pantheism can not awaken the religious emotions of man. Pantheism does not satisfy the religious nature of man. Personal man demands more than impersonal nature; free man demands more than necessary nature; rational man demands more than irrational nature; responsible man demands more than irresponsible nature; spiritual man demands more than material nature. As nature is the God

Digitized by Google

of pantheism, and all that it offers to the religious nature of man, its failure to meet man's wants and satisfy the demands of his spirit, proves that pantheism is not true

Pantheism does not satisfy the reason of man. As a system of thought it ignores the distinction between cause and effect, the agent and his act, the carpenter and the house he builds, the author and the book he writes. It identifies God and nature, the creator and his creation, the infinite and the finite, the Divine Father and his human children. It thus rejects the axioms of philosophy, the first principles of science, the necessary laws of thought, the intuitions of the mind, the teachings of experience, and the lessons of common sense. That system which does not satisfy the reason, disregards the intuitions of the mind, and attempts to ignore the existence of the necessary laws of thought, cannot be a true philosophy of nature and man. This pantheism as a system of philosophy does, and therefore it cannot be true, because it rejects all human standards of truth. Reason therefore demands that we reject pantheism as a philosophy of nature, and as an effort to explain the phenomena of the universe.

Christian experience and life, as given in consciousness and recorded in biography and history, are in conflict with Pantheism. We are conscious that we do not worship nature or ourselves, but God. We do not feel that we are responsible to nature or ourselves, but to God. We do not repent to ourselves, we are not reconciled to ourselves, nor pardoned by ourselves. It is God to whom we repent. It is God that pardons, forgives, and reconciles. Our consciousness of pardon, assurance of forgiveness, and feeling of reconciliation, cannot be explained on the theory that there is no God in the universe but unconscious and impersonal nature. This is a personal experience that has grown out of personal relations, and resulted from personal communion of man with God. Pantheism cannot account for religious experience. Here is a class of phenomena for the existence of which the pantheistic hypothesis makes no provision, and of which it can give no rational explanation.

Digitized by Google

Moral distinctions are given us as facts of consciousness. Man has a moral experience and moral history. We are conscious of obligation. We feel that we are responsible. Remorse, sorrow, and fear attend upon bad conduct. Suffering is the sure concomitant of vice. Sin, always brings punishment. Virtue is its own reward. Good deeds give joy and peace. These are parts of man's moral experience, facts of his moral history. But what explanation can pantheism give of this experience, and these facts? Is such an experience, and are such facts possible in a universe where personal beings and personal relations do not exist? Obligation, responsibility, duty, and morality imply personality, and are impossible if man and God are impersonal things, and not personal, rational, moral beings. But man has a moral nature, moral emotions, moral faculties, and a moral experience. History, literature and law recognize the existence of moral phenomena in the world. Any system which affirms that such phenomena as reason and conscience declare to be moral do not and cannot exist, cannot itself be true. This pantheism does by rejecting the distinction between agent and act, the creator and creation, truth and error, virtue and vice. It is therefore evident that pantheism is not true, either theoretically or practically. By rejecting the testimony of our rational and moral intuitions it sweeps away the basis of all truth. How can we ever learn the truth if the human faculties deceive us, and reason, conscience and experience mislead us? That our rational and moral faculties do thus deceive us, is evident if pantheism is true; for it rejects as untrustworthy nearly all the positive affirmations of man's rational and moral nature. These are our only witnesses and if their testimony is rejected as untrue, then it is impossible to learn the truth.

But if man is not a personal being, but only a part of impersonal nature, as pantheism proclaims, what becomes of the doctrine of personal rights and privileges which lie at the basis of our civil and political institutions. Rights of property and liberty are personal rights and are based upon the

Digitized by Google

fact that man is a person and can come into personal, legal, political, business and social relations with his fellowmen. Are our institutions grounded in error, and our constitution and laws based upon a mistake in regard to man's nature and relations? This certainly is the case if the philosophy of pantheism is true. If man is not a personal being, but only a part of impersonal nature, it is evident he can have no personal rights. Pantheism is thus found to have a logical and philosophical affinity to communism. This affinity is shown by history as well as by logic and philosophy. Communists and socialists are generally pantheist in their philosophy of nature and God, and in their views of the nature, relations, and interest of man.

The teaching of pantheism is thus seen to have very important practical bearings on our legal and political rights, on our business and social life. This aspect of the subject demands more attention than is generally given it.

Having shown the weakness of Pantheism as a philosophy of nature, life and man, by pointing out its utter failure to account for the material, vital, mental, moral, social, religious and political phenomena of the world, we will notice the philosophical genesis, and historical development, of its central thought; and further test the strength of the arguments by which its advocates attempt to defend it.

The Father of occidental Pantheism in modern times is the Jew Spinoza. Its doctrines and the reasons by which he claims to demonstrate them are embodied in his Ethics. The logic of Spinoza is deductive. He reasons from assumed premises to conclusions which he holds must be facts; instead of reasoning from known facts to conclusions. This is an incorrect method to start with. It is purely metaphysical, and not scientific. It is Cartesian and not Baconian. He reasons from assumed causes to what he holds must be effects, when he should have reasoned from known effects to the existence and character of the cause. He started with ideas and reasoned to things, and from thought deduced universal being. This method, together with the fact that he

Digitized by Google

studied metaphysics and not psychology, made him a pantheist and fatalist. The weakness of Spinoza's whole system i caused by the error in his logical method. Had he reasoned from the data given him in the consciousness and experience of man, as an inductive psychologist, his conclusion would have been theistic and not pantheistic. The logical inference from the personality, intelligence and liberty of man is the personality, intelligence and freedom of God.

Spinoza was a disciple of Descartes, and from his philosophy derived the principles, the application of which led him into pantheism. Descartes was not a pantheist himself, but there were hidden in his system of philosophy the germs of Spinoza's Ethics.

They both pursued the same method, and tried to evolve a system of universal truth from the elements of their own consciousness. Descartes' dictum, "*Cogito Ergo Sum*"—"*I think, therefore I am*"—gave him an argument for the existence of God if applied inductively. In another form it is this: There is no thought without a thinker; I think, therefore I am; God thinks, therefore He is. The axiom is inductive, and its application gives us an inductive argument for the existence of God. There is thought in nature; therefore nature reveals a thinker. The thought is everywhere seen; the thinker must be everywhere present. Nature is full of thought; therefore nature is full of God.

Here we have the seed of pantheism, which, under the logic of Spinoza, grew into a tree that filled the universe. Make thought not only the evidence, but the equivalent and measure of being, as he did, and you have pantheism. The thought is omnipresent, the thinker must be omnipresent—filling all space, he must be all things. God and nature thus become one, *The One and All* of pantheism.

This results, it is true, from the improper use of the Cartesian axiom; and the error of Spinoza was in making thought the measure of the sum of all being, instead of the proof of the existence of a certain quality of being. This is the broken link in his chain of logic by which he attempts to

Digitized by Google

demonstrate pantheism. The logical conclusion of the proper application of the axiom — there is no thought without a thinker—would be a theistic and not a pantheistic conception of the universe. Another germ of pantheism in the philosophy of Descartes is found in his doctrine of the identity of creation and providence. He lays it down as a principle that the conservation of substance is a continuous creation.[3] Meanwhile, since one sole act has made the world, its motion, and its laws, we should believe also that one sole act preserves it in the same fashion with the same laws, and consequently maintains in the corporal universe the same quantity of motion.[4]

The pantheistic tendency of this doctrine is very evident. In this philosophy nature has no substantial being apart from God, but only exists as the result of a constant act of creaation. Thus nature is only a divine movement, a mode of divine activity, a continuous act of divine will. This logically makes God the only cause, and the only substance in the universe. This theory is in conflict with man's rational and moral nature alike. We are conscious that we exist as personal and responsible beings, and if our consciousness deceives us there is an end to all philosophy and all science. Spinoza's doctrine as derived from the philosophy of Descartes, is, that as we have thoughts of the infinite, there must be infinite being or substance; this infinite being must have infinite perfections and attributes, but of these we can know but two, viz.: extension and thought.[5] Of these he says in the final conclusion: — 1. "That the perfection of the Divine extension is the foundation of its indivisibility. 2. That the perfection of Divine thought sets it free from the limitations of the understanding. 3. That the perfection of Divine liberty emancipates it from the conditions of the will.

Our science of God thus comes to this strange issue. God is extended, yet incorporeal; God thinks, and has no understadning; God is free and active, and has no will. These are the scientific and philosophical contradictions to which the

[3] Meditations. Vol. ii. p. 61. [4] Principia, § 36. [5] *De Deo*, props. 12, 13.

Digitized by Google

great founder of modern pantheism is driven in defence of the proposition that extension, thought, and freedom are attributes of the same substance. But his philosophy not only destroys the personalty of God; it also destroys the personality of man. Man is the identity in God of the human soul, and the human body. The human soul in fact is nothing but a mode of the divine substance; so is the human body in another way.[6] But if our consciousness of personal being is an illusion, as Spinoza assumes, how do we know but every other form of human consciousness is an illusion? Our consciousness of the thought, which he makes the proof and measure of infinite being, may be and doubtless is an illusion. The logic of pantheism is thus self-destructive; for man cannot think unless he exists. If it is true: "*I think, therefore I am*," it is equally true, "I am, therefore I think." If thought proves personal being, the being must exist before the thought, and as the cause of it. That there is no thought without a thinker is but another form of the axiom: There is no effect without a cause. It is thus evident that all philosophy and science must start by recognizing the personality, intelligence, and trustworthiness of man.

From the personality of man the personality of God is a necessary logical inference, unless the effect is greater than its producing cause. This would violate an axiom of inductive science, and set aside one of the canons of inductive logic —"Causes are measured by their effects."[7] As man the effect is a person, God the cause must be a person. This is the necessary conclusion of all legitimate inductive reasoning on this subject. Such a conclusion is fatal to pantheism.

Kant and Sir William Hamilton have furnished to pantheism standing ground in their doctrine of the unconditioned and absolute. The absolute, the unconditioned are unknown and inconceivable; so is cause, a beginning, creation. Pantheism builds on this foundation in this way: This doctrine being true, the only rational theory of the universe is that it

[6] Modern Pantheism. By M. Emile Saisset. Vol. i. p. 181.

[7] Novum Organon Renovalum. By Whewell. Vol. i. p. 18.

Digitized by Google

is one absolute unity, in which there is no beginning, no cause, no effects, no creation, no creator, no relations; but one substance, one life, one being. Let us examine this theory of Hamilton—upon which the superstructure of pantheism, as well as that of agnosticism, has been erected—in the light of his own philosophy. He lays it down as a logical axiom and self-evident truth, that the knowledge of opposites is one. Thus, he says, "we cannot know what is tall without knowing what is short. We know what is virtue only as we know what is vice."[8] If this axiom be true, and this principle self-evident, it follows that we know the infinite or we do not know the finite; that we know the unconditioned, or we do not know the conditioned; that we know the absolute, or we do not know the limited; that we know the personal, or we do not know the impersonal. This axiom logically destroys his philosophy of the conditioned and unconditioned, and with it the foundation of pantheism and agnosticism.

The doctrine that the infinite cannot be a person, because personality implies limitations, is not true in philosophy nor in fact. Personality is a perfection; the infinite has all perfections; therefore the infinite has personality—is a person. This doctrine is based on the idea of the infinite as a quantity, and not a quality, which is erroneous. Infinity is not the quantity of all being, but the quality of one being—God. It is perfection, and as such can belong to a person.

Article XXVII.

The Continent of Atlantis.

The probabilities respecting the former existence of the Atlantis of Plato have received much attention during the past four years. The interest awakened by recent discussions

[8] Metaphysics. By Sir William Hamilton. Vol. i. p. 156, 157.

Digitized by Google

bids fair to produce further investigation. The efforts already put forth have thrown much light upon what necessarily must have been a dark subject. While the matter has received more or less attention during the past twenty-two hundred years, yet it has not occupied a very prominent place in the considerations relating to the peopling of America. The advocates of the unity of the human race, and consequently of the Asiatic origin of American races, thought they saw an easy solution for their problem by supposing migrations to America by way of Behring's Strait. The insuperable objections urged against this assumption failed to attract forcibly their attention. To have maintained the Atlantis theory during the heated controversies formerly waged between rival schools of anthropology would have subjected the advocate to ridicule, because sufficient evidence was not then at hand to maintain successfully that position. Enough, however, was known to keep alive the interest which had always been manifested. To the credit of scientific men it should be said, that, generally speaking, they have looked favorably upon the relation as given by Plato. The schoolmen have almost uniformly regarded it as a legend or fanciful sketch; while the historian occasionally mentions it without committing himself to either view. Instances of this kind may be cited in two of the Histories of Mexico, one written by Clavigero (Vol. III. p. 96) and the other by Prescott (Vol. III. p. 356).

The present interest manifested in the subject, is largely due to the labors of that eminent Americaniste, the lamented Abbe Brasseur de Bourbourg. Although this learned scientist indulged in many speculations, yet his labors, together with the results of the explorations made by the *Dolphin* and *Challenger*, do away with many theories which have been put forth. Hence, the mystery surrounding the story as given by Plato becomes clearer as investigation slowly proceeds.

To give a succinct account of the story, history, opinions of the learned, evidences of credibility, and accruing results would require much time and space. To trace the history of the story alone would be tedious, for its multifarious paths

Digitized by Google

lead through different departments of literature, science, and mythology, so that the investigator could accumulate, in this branch alone, enough material to form a volume.

According to Plato's Timæus, the history of Atlantis was preserved in that mysterious repository of primeval lore, the Egyptian priesthood. The story may be thus briefly told: About six hundred years before the birth of Christ, Solon visited the district of Sais, situated at the head of the Delta of the Nile, and there learned, from a priest, that in the Atlantic Ocean over against the Pillars of Hercules, (the modern Gibraltar) there was once an island larger than Asia and Africa combined; and in its vicinity were other islands forming a passage to a large continent beyond. The island was thickly settled, powerful, and ruled by three kings. The soil was very productive, and many kinds of fruit grew in abundance. The people were very rich, highly civilized, and had greatly improved their country, by adding gardens, canals, temples, palaces, harbors, etc. The three kings had conquered Africa as far as Egypt, and Europe as far as the Tyrrhenian sea. Their farther progress had been arrested by the Athenians. After this a violent earthquake, lasting a day and a night and accompanied with inundations of the sea, caused the island to sink; and for a long period subsequent to this, the sea in this quarter was impassable, by reason of the slime and shoals.

Solon undertook to preserve in poetry what was related to him by the priest, but never finished his task. Plato commenced to give the story in full, but did not live to complete it. The record as given by Plato is a simple narration, devoid of myths, marvels, and giants which so commonly enter into the narrations of the Greeks. It reads like a natural history, and bears on its face the imprint of truth.

As already stated many eminent and reliable men have looked favorably upon this story. Some of these should not be passed over in silence. Theopompus (B. C. 260) never disputed it; Posidonius (B. C. 100) thought it worthy of belief; Pliny (A. D. 23) does not speak positively; Rudbeck

Digitized by Google

in his *Atlantica* (Upsall, 1675–79) labors with great learning to prove that Atlantis was Sweden; Buffon believed in the probability of the story; Count Carli (b. 1720) believed America to be the Atlantis of Plato (*Lettres Americaines*); Professor Horn (in a Latin treatise published in 1652) considered it probable that Atlantis was once a part of America, thus anticipating the views of Count Carli; Bailly (b. 1736) placed Atlantis in the farthest regions of the north, and attempted to connect the Atlantides with the far-famed Hyperboreans; James Adair published his "History of the American Indians" in 1775, its main object being to prove that the Indians were the lineal descendants of the Israelites. In this work (p 219) he says: "Ancient History is quite silent concerning America, which indicates that it has been from time immemorial rent asunder from the African continent according to Plato's Timæus." Coming down to the most recent works the following should be enumerated: M. Charles Martins in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, for March 1, 1867; Brasseur de Bourbourg's *Quater Lettres sur le Mexique* and *Sources de l'Histoire Primitive du Mexique;* George Catlin's "The Lifted and Subsided Rocks of America;" Professor Anders Retzius, in Smithsonian Report, 1650, p. 266; Lyell's "Elements of Geology," p. 350 (?) Figuier's "World before the Deluge," pp. 118, 281; Foster's "Pre-Historic Races," p. 394–99; Short's "North Americans of Antiquity" p. 500, Winchell's "Pre-Adamites" pp. 378–92, and Donnelly's "Atlantis," which made its appearance during the early part of the year 1882.

The opinions of men have long ceased to be evidence unless fortified by testimony. If facts cannot be brought to sustain the story as given by Plato it must still remain only among the possibilities. What facts then can be adduced in order to place Plato's Atlantis among the probabilities?

If the recital of Plato be true, owing to its very nature, it seems that, at least, the substance of the story might be derived from other sources. This is especially true when we consider the time at which Atlantis was overthrown. Although

Digitized by Google

the Egyptian priest assigned 9000 years before, as the date of this great calamity, yet this number must be received as meaning only a remote period; for Plato tells us that the date of the expedition to Egypt was during the reigns of the Athenian kings Cecrops and Erechtheus. According to the "Parian Chronicle," [1] Cecrops reigned 1450 (some say 1582) B. C., and Erechtheus, 1409 B. C.

Theopompus, who was born 63 years later than Plato, derives the story from a different source, but it is the same in substance. According to him the information was given by Silenus (a famous demigod noted for his wisdom) to Midas an ancient king of the Brygians in Thrace. Tinagenes, historiographer to Octavius Augustus, in his history of the Gauls stated that they possessed traditions upon the subject of Atlantis, and that Gaul was once invaded by the people from this island. Marcellus, in his work on the Ethiopians, speaks of seven islands in the Atlantic Ocean Sacred to Proserpina, which may undoubtedly be identified with the Canaries. The inhabitants of these islands he adds, had a tradition that three of the larger islands were originally one, and had for a long time ruled over the smaller ones. Boeckh, in his commentary on Plato, preserves an extract taken from Proclus which mentions islands beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and that "the inhabitants preserved from their ancestors a remembrance of Atlantis, an extremely large island, which for a long time held dominion over all the islands of the Atlantic Ocean."

These citations place the story fairly in the realm of historical probabilities. That a continent or island beyond the strait of Gibraltar was almost universally believed in by the Greeks and Latins is beyond a doubt. They called it the

[1] "It was in Paros that the famous marble was disinterred, known by the name of the *Parian Chronicle*, from its having been kept in this island. It is a chronological account of the principal events in Grecian, and particularly in Athenian history, during a period of 1,318 years, from the reign of Cecrops B. C. 1450, to the archonship of Diognetus, B. C. 264. But the chronicle of the last 90 years was lost, so that the part now remaining ends at the archonship of Diotimus, B. C. 354."—Anthon's *Classical Dictionary*, p. 979.

Digitized by Google

"Fortunate Islands," and "Isles of the Blessed." It was the Elysium of Homer, Hesiod, and Pindar.

Turning to the American continent we are again confronted by legends referring to an overwhelming calamity. According to Brasseur de Bourbourg (in Landa's *Relacion*) the Popul Vuh (the sacred book of the Central Americans) gives an account of the submergence beneath the ocean by earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, of a continent, of which the Antilles are but its mountain summits."

"Water and fire contributed to the universal ruin, at the time of the last cataclysm which preceded the fourth creation. Then the waters were agitated by the will of the Heart of Heaven, and a great inundation came upon the heads of these creatures. * * * They were engulfed, and a resinous thickness descended from heaven. * * * The face of the earth was obscured and a heavy darkening rain commenced, rain by day and rain by night. * * * * There was a great noise above their heads as if produced by fire. Then were men seen running, pushing each other, filled with despair; they wished to climb upon their houses, and the houses tumbling down fell to the ground; they wished to climb upon the trees, and the trees shook them off; wished to enter into the grottoes, and the grottoes closed themselves before them." — Quoted by Prof. Short in *North Americans of Antiguity. p.* 499.

The learned Abbe declares that this tradition existed every where among the people when first discovered by Europeans; and recollections of this catastrophe were preserved in some of their festivals; and one especially commemorated this frightful destruction of land and people. It was celebrated during the month of Izcalli when "princes and people humbled themselves before the divinity, and besought Him to withhold a return of such terrible calamities." This event has left its imprint on the tribes bordering the Orinoco and in other parts of South America. The ancient Indians of Peru reported that the occurrence took place before the time of the Incas. The Peruvians must have received their knowledge of this submersion through the Toltecas of Copan. This

Digitized by Google

would illustrate how strong is tradition. "No annals have been found proving a direct connexion between Mexico and Peru; yet their languages, and manners and customs, and equal advance in the progress of civilization, indicate a common origin. Tradition directly states however, that their civilization emanated from the North." — Delafield's *Antiquities of America*, p. 15.

The Central Americans called the lost continent Xibalba, and their description of it reminds one forcibly of that given by Plato. Add to the above the traditions as given by Bishop Landa in his *Relacion* as to the origin of these races and the evidence becomes stronger. "In Yucatan the traditions all point to an Eastern and foreign origin for the race. The early writers report that the natives believe their ancestors to have crossed the sea by a passage which was opened for them." What was the exact name given to the lost continent by the Mexicans it would be difficult to tell. They had a tradition which was uniform throughout Mexico that they originated in Aztlan. Whether or not this is a different form for Atlantis must be left for each one to decide for himself. This country (Aztlan) was placed north of Mexico.

In Yucatan and certain parts of Central America are ruins of great cities, whose remains have been well described by Del Rio, Waldeck, Stephens, and others. The style of their architecture carries one back to Pelasgic times, and the symbols, ornaments, etc., carved on the palaces bring up the phallic mysteries of antiquity. The similarity between these remains and those of the Pelasgi of ancient Greece does not necessarily connect the two, but it might denote that the powerful inhabitants of Atlantis impressed their thought upon two races widely different and inhabiting different continents.

Have this people left in the form of language anything among the Europeans? There are two words almost universally used, *Atlas* and *Atlantic*. No satisfactory etymology in any of the languages of Europe, either dead or spoken, can be given to these two words. They are purely exotic.

Digitized by Google

An attempt has been made to show that *Atlas* is of Greek origin, being derived from *α* and *τλάω*, making the last to mean *endure* and the *a* used as intensive. If the letter alpha is to be used here in the intensive form then *Atlas* must be something more than *to bear*, *to endure*, *to support*. It would appear that the word would mean *destitute of* or *without support*. It must be noticed that the first four letters of both words are the same, and the origin of one is the origin of the other. Those who are in any degree familiar with Mexican words must notice that these two words remind them of *Atl*, *Atlan*, etc. No true meaning of *Atlas* and *Atlantic* was known until the Nahuatl language (Aztec) was understood. In this language *a*, *atl* signifies water, war, and the top of the head. A series of words follow this such as *atlan*, which means "on the border of or amid the water." From *atlan* we get our word *Atlantic*. When America was discovered a city named *Atlan* existed at the entrance of the Gulf of Uraba, in Darien. It is now an unimportant pueblo called *Acla*. It is but a just inference to suppose that both the Greeks and Mexicans received the respective words *Atlantic* and *Atl* from the language spoken by the people of Atlantis.

A stranger declaration than this is given in "North Americans of Antiquity," taken from Salisbury's *Dr. Le Plongeon in Yucatan*. It is given here for what it may be worth. Dr. Le Plongeon had been exploring the ruins of Yucatan, especially those of Chichen-Itza, and, writing concerning the discovery of a well-sculptured bear's head at Uxmal, said:—

"When did bears inhabit the peninsula? Strange to say, the Maya does not furnish the name for bear. Yet one third of this tongue is pure Greek. Who brought the dialect of Homer to America? Or who took to Greece that of the Mayas? Greek is the offspring of the Sanscrit. Is Maya? Or are they coeval? A clue for ethnologists to follow the migrations of the human family on this old continent. Did the bearded men whose portraits are carved on the massive pillars of the fortress at Chichen-Itza, belong to the Mayan nations? The Maya is not devoid of words from the Assyrian. * * * * I must speak of that language which has survived unaltered through the vicissitudes of the nations that spoke it thousands of years ago, and is yet the general tongue in Yucatan — the Maya. There can be no doubt that this is one of the most ancient languages on earth. It was used by people that lived at least 6,000 years ago, as proved by the Katuns, to record the history of their rulers, the dogmas of their religion, on the walls of their palaces, on the façades of their temples."

Undoubtedly Le Plongeon allows his enthusiasm to get the better of him. In regard to the sculptures of bearded men

Digitized by Google

among the ruins of Yucatan and Central America, it should be stated that this has elicited marked attention from various travellers who have seen them. Some would connect these people by their beards to the Europeans, relying on the assumption that the native American races are destitute of this appendage. Dr. Morton has shown (*Crania Americana*, p. 67) that all Indians are not destitute of beard. It has been noticed long and full among the Chippewyans, Dog-ribbed, Chopunnish, among those of New California, Chilians, etc. Yet, in this connection, in justice it should be stated that "The first progenitors of the Incas did not think proper to disclose to the people whence they really came, or what was their true origin; yet so much was stated as that it was the ordinary traditionary legend that 'men with beards, and clearer complexions than the natives of Anahuac, Condinamarca, and Cuzco, make their appearance without any indication of the place of their birth, bearing the title of high priests, legislators, friends of peace and of the arts.'" Delafield's *American Antiquities*, p. 16.

Craniology has also been brought to bear upon this subject. Dr. Anders Retzius in Smithsonian Report, 1859, p. 266, says,—

"With regard to the other primitive dolichocephelæ of America, I entertain an hypothesis still more bold perhaps, namely, that they are nearly related to to the Guanches in the Canary Islands, and to the Atlantic populations of Africa, the Moors, Tuaricks, Copts etc., which Latham comprises under the name of Egyptian Atlantidæ. This is not the first time I have called attention to the resemblance of those of Guanches and Copts on the one side and the Guaranis of Brazil on the other Above I have shown that the latter are related to the race of the ancient Caribs of the Antilles. We find, then, the same form of skull in the Canary islands, in front of the African coast, and in the Carib islands on the opposite coast which faces Africa. The color of the skin on both sides of the Atlantic is represented in all these populations as being of a reddish brown, resembling somewhat leather tanned brown; the hair the same; the features of the face and build of theframe, as I am led to believe, pre-

Digitized by Google

senting the same analogy. These facts involuntarily recall the tradition which Plato tells us in his Timæus was commu nicated to Solon by an Egyptian priest, respecting the ancient Atlantis."

While this anatomical similarity appears to present a clear case, yet, in reality it involves the subject in difficulties. Our historical information of the Mexicans, Central Americans, and Peruvians, comes from the Toltecan branch of the American family; and from these the American evidence of Atlantis is derived. This family is *brachycephalic*, while the anatomical similarity belongs to *dolichocephalic* tribes. This objection might be overcome under the supposition that then as now both branches of the human family were represented on the continent of Atlantis.

An important discovery was made by Dr. Le Plongeon which might possibly be only a coincidence, but certainly interesting in this connection. At Chichen-Itza he observed that the sandals upon the feet of the statue of Chaacmol, and also the same upon the statue of a priestess found on the island of Mugeres "are exact representations of those found on the feet of the Guanches, the early inhabitants of the Canary islands, whose mummies are yet occasionally met with in the caves of Teneriffe and the other isles of the group."

Another consideration stronger than any yet offered must not be overlooked. What are the teachings of geology upon this question? If the theory be true that all the changes which have taken place in the formation of the earth's crust are due to the same processes which are now at work in nature, then geology stands as an insuperable impediment in the way of this subject. The "uniformitarian" theory, taken as a whole, is undoubtedly true. Instances are recorded of islands being thrown up from the sea and then disappearing again. A noted instance of this kind is given by Sir Charles Lyell[3] concerning Graham's Island. It was thrown up from the Mediterranean sea between the southwest coast of Sicily and the ancient site of Carthage on the African coast. This occurred

[3] "Principles of Geology," Vol. II. Pp. 58-67

Digitized by Google

in 1831. A few years before the eruption, the sea at this point was six hundred feet deep. The island arose to the height of two hundred feet, and three miles in circumference. At the commencement of the year 1832 the island was one hundred and fifty feet below the level of the sea. The island was purely volcanic, and what would account for the upheaval of a small island would not necessarily explain the submergence of a continent, or very large island. But when it is considered that the whole coast of South America was lifted up bodily ten or fifteen feet, and then let down again within an hour, it would be easy to believe that a continent might sink beneath the sea. In fact, such is more than probable if the "Nebular Hypothesis" be taken for granted. If our world is growing less in size as the internal fire decreases in extent, we must assume that the earth's crust must break of its own weight and suddenly sink upon the molten mass within. Why may not Atlantis have been buried by a breakage of the earth's crust? We are not left to conjecture and speculation upon this point. We turn to the deep sea soundings made by the *Dolphin* and *Challenger*.

According the explorations made by these two vessels two ridges have been discovered in the Atlantic Ocean, one called the "Dolphin Ridge" and the other the "Challenger Ridge." The former is situated near the centre of the North Atlantic, and includes the Azores, and is in the form of a seal with its tail to the south. The Challenger Ridge is in the South Atlantic, and both are joined by a connecting ridge. The ridges rise to an average height of nineteen hundred fathoms below the surface. The connecting ridge after leaving *Dolphin Ridge* takes a southwestward direction and connects with the coast of South America at Cape Orange; then its course is southeasterly until it joins "Challenger Ridge" at the island of Ascension. In these ridges are all the inequalities produced by mountains and valleys, which could not be formed by deposits of sediment or submarine elevations, but must have been made by agencies acting above water level. If other circumstances did not intervene the period of this

Digitized by Google

submergence might be referred to miocene or pliocene times, as the extinct flora and fauna of both Europe and America lead us to infer that during these periods there was a connecting chain between these two grand divisions of the globe.

It is not to be presumed that the continent of Atlantis has remained unchanged since the period of its overthrow. Changes undoubtedly take place in the bottom of the ocean as well as upon dry land. The processes of elevation and depression are now actively going on along the eastern coast of both Americas. For a distance of six hundred miles the coast of Greenland is gradually sinking; and the same is true of the whole of the Atlantic States. It is most marked, however, on the coast of South Carolina and Georgia. In South America, on the other hand, both coasts are being elevated. Raised beaches can be traced along the eastern coast to a distance of eleven hundred and eighty miles, and along the western two thousand and seventy-five miles. It may be that the ridges discovered by the exploring vessels were the back-bone or elevated portions of the old continent; the islands belonged to the mountain ranges, and the lower depths formed the plains which once contained the cities, gardens, palaces and temples of the ancient Atlantidæ.

It is unfortunate that some one who has leisure and patience has not collected all the facts bearing upon the continent of Atlantis and presented the subject in an interesting and acceptable form. Ignatius Donnelly has given to the world his "Atlantis," but unfortunately the book is weighted with speculations and far-fetched conclusions. His facts are so interwoven with his theories that they neither convince nor interest. It is not necessary here to point out his forced interpretations, nor to show how he makes the Bible play an important part in elucidating Plato's story. With the facts at his command, Mr. Donnelly missed a golden opportunity to do good in the world of history and science.

Digitized by Google

Article XXVIII.

The Universalist Origin of American Sunday Schools.

It is generally conceded that Robert Raikes, of Gloucester, England, is to be regarded as the Founder of Sunday Schools. It is not meant by this that he was the first to entertain and act upon the idea of imparting instruction to children on Sunday, for in this he had been anticipated by many. Nor is he the founder in the sense of being the person to whom the establishment of Sunday Schools is due, to the exclusion of all other participants, for he had, as himself gratefully acknowledges, several valuable co-laborers, to one of whom, the Rev. Thomas Stock, "belongs," according to the latest biographer of Mr. Raikes, and the historian of his Sunday Schools, "almost if not quite as much credit for the institution of schools in Gloucester, as to Raikes himself." But, according to the same author,—

"Raikes' distinctive honor lies in the fact that having in common with several other kindred spirits perceived the advantages which would attend Sunday teaching, he did not content himself, as did others, with establishing schools in his own neighborhood, but by means of his newspaper and other organs of public opinion, he recommended the practice far and wide, and never ceased the advocacy till the scheme was generally adopted throughout the land. The movement hitherto unheard of save in a few provincial towns and villages, was by him brought into the light of day. In vigorous language he introduced it to all classes of readers. From cottager to king, all learned of the new institution through Robert Raikes. He raised Sunday-school teaching from a fortuitous rarity into a universal system. He found the practice local; he made it national. It is upon this ground that admirers of Raikes rest his claim to the honored title of 'founder of Sunday schools.'"[1]

The summer of 1880,—the Centennial anniversary of the establishing of Sunday schools by Mr. Raikes,—was very

[1] Robert Raikes: Journalist and Philanthropist. A History or the Origin of Sunday Schools. By Alfred Gregory. London, 1877, pp. 43-45.

Digitized by Google

generally observed by the Protestant world in commemoration of that event. A service held in London is worthy of special notice, inasmuch as it put in durable shape the award of honor to whom honor is due, by connecting with the name of Raikes, the names of the most eminent who had preceded him in his great work.

"A monument erected in the fore-court of the Unitarian Chapel, Essex street, Strand, in honor of the originators of the Sunday school movement was unveiled" June 26th. The tablet bears the following inscription: "Erected to commemorate the Christian efforts of the Originators of Sunday Schools [members of various churches] from the time of Cardinal Borromeo, 1580, to that of Theophilus Lindsey and Robert Raikes, 1780, in gratitude to God for his blessing on Sunday school labors during the past century; and in fervent hope that the time may soon come when differences of opinion will no longer separate disciples of Christ in works of usefulness. 1880. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye have love one to another. John xiii. 35." "On the right hand of the pedestal are the following names of Originators of Sunday schools:

Cardinal Borromeo, [Roman Catholic] Milan, 1580. Rev. Joseph Alleine, [Non Conformist] Bath 1668. Mrs. C. Boevay [Church of England] Flaxley, 1717. Rev. Theophilus Lindsey [Unitarian] Catterick, 1764. Mrs. Catherine Cappe, [Unitarian] Bedall, 1765. Miss Hannah Ball, [Methodist] High Wycombe, 1769. And on the left: Mr. William King, [Whitfieldite] Dursley, 1774. Mr. James Heys, [Presbyterian] Little Lever, 1775. Rev. Thomas Kennedy, [Episcopalian] Macclesfield, 1778. Rev. Thomas Stock and Mr. Robert Raikes [Church of England] Gloucester, 1780."[2]

With the exception of the Dunker Sunday school at Ephrata, Pennsylvania,—established in 1740, and discontinued in 1777 in consequence of the occupation of the buildings of that community for hospital purposes after the Battle of Brandywine,—the Philadelphia Sunday school, commenced in March, 1791, and the Sunday school opened by Samuel Slater in a room in his cotton factory at Pawtucket, R. I., in 1797,—the writer is not aware of any claim put forth in that

[2] Robert Raikes and Northamptonshire Sunday Schools. London, 1880. pp. 1, 2.

Digitized by Google

Anniversary year for American schools of an earlier date than 1803. This statement, should, however, be so far qualified, as to allow the mention of two facts in the history of the Methodist Episcopal church. In 1783, Bishop Asbury, it is said, organized a Sunday school in Hanover, Co.,[3] Va.; but there is no particular or satisfactory account of it to be obtained anywhere. At the session of the Methodist Conference, in February, 1790, a resolution on establishing Sunday schools for poor children, white or black, was adopted, but there is no record of schools established in consequence thereof.

The first Sunday school in Boston, is generally supposed to have been opened by Miss Lydia Adams, in 1812. She was the teacher of a week-day charity school, supported by the ladies of the West Parish, Rev. Dr. Lowell's," now Rev. Dr. Bartol's.[4]

The writer of this article has recently, in pursuing investigations of another subject, come upon some hitherto forgotten or overlooked data in regard to a Sunday school established, and for a little more than two years continued, in Boston, by an eminent Universalist layman of that city. What has been ascertained with regard to this man and his work is now laid before the reader. Preliminary to this, however, and as showing the connection between the Sunday school movement here with that in Philadelphia, and also the Universalist incitement to both, there are some interesting facts in regard to the Philadelphia enterprise which it will be well to consider.

At the Philadelphia Convention of Universalists, held in that city from May 28th to June 8th, 1790,—a session of fifteen days, including Sundays,—the following was adopted as one of the Rules or Regulations in the Plan of Church Government. "Of the Instruction of Children:

"We believe it to be the duty of all parents to instruct their children in the principles of the Gospel, as the best means to inspire them with the love of virtue, and to promote in them good manners, and habits of industry and so-

[3] History of Sunday Schools by Lewis G. Pray. p. 204. [4] Ibid. pp. 209, 210.

Digitized by Google

briety. As a necessary introduction to the knowledge of the Gospel, we recommend the institution of a school or schools, to be under the direction of every church; in which shall be taught reading, writing, arithmetic and psalmody. We recommend further, that provision be made for instructing poor children in the said schools gratis. As the fullest discovery of the perfections and will of God, and of the whole duty of man, is contained in the Bible, we wish that Divine book to be read by the youth of our churches as early and frequently as possible; and that they should be instructed therein at stated meetings appointed for that purpose."

Whence came the incitement to this action? Evidently from Shippie Townsend, a member of Mr. Murray's congregation in Boston, who had published in 1787, "A Short Catechism, with Proofs, designed for the assistance of such persons as wish to search the Scriptures for a consistent view of the Doctrines and Duties contained in them." In the preface, he says that he wrote it, "having been requested by some worthy friends to endeavor to put into their hands something in this way as an assistant in instructing their children." This Catechism commences after the manner of the Westminster Assembly's, "*Question.* What is the chief end of man? *Answer.* Man's chief end is to glorify God and enjoy him forever." Further than this it does not follow that celebrated work, but proceeds to give instruction in Universalist ideas as held by Relly and Murray.[5]

Mr. Townsend was not at the Convention, but Mr. Murray was there as the representative of the Boston and Gloucester churches, and had taken copies of the Catechism with him. The writer has in his possession a letter written by Mr. Murray after his return from the Convention, addressed to a Philadelphia friend, in which he says: "I am requested by Mr. Townsend to inquire as to the fate of his Catechisms that I left with you."

Shippie Townsend was a man of more than ordinary abilities. He was the son of David Townsend and Mabel Townsand, *nee* Shippie, and was born in Charlestown, Mass., Nov.

[5] The Catechism covers 24 octavo pages. In the margin, against each answer, is set references to the Scriptures on which the answer is based.

Digitized by Google

16th, 1722. He united with the First church in Charlestown, May 4th, 1740, and moved to Boston, where he married Mehitable Whittemore, sister of the grand-father of the late Thomas Whittemore, D. D., Dec. 3, 1745. He was a block maker by trade, and his shop was on Barrett's wharf, near the foot of Cross street, "two wharves below the draw-bridge in Anne street." His residence was on Cross street.[6] Sometime after the arrival of Rev. Robert Sandeman in Boston, in 1763, Mr. Townsend became a Sandemanian; and from April 1773, when the Sandemanian meeting house was destroyed by fire, until they could erect another, the meetings of this sect were held at Mr. Townsend's residence. At what time he became a Universalist, the writer has not been able to ascertain, but it was prior to 1783, as on the first of January of that year, he published a Reply to Rev. Samuel Mather's "Pamphlet, entitled 'All Men will not be Saved Forever.'" In all, Mr. Townsend wrote and published eleven pamphlets in exposition and defence of Universalism, or in commendation and practical application of its truths and hopes: including "A Small Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs." Several of these, including the Catechism, were collected together and with much new matter, published in a volume entitled, "Gospel News, Divided into Eleven Sections, etc. etc. Boston, 1794."

Mr. Townsend occasionally preached in Gloucester,[7] and perhaps elsewhere. For several years, probably from the organization, in 1791, he was a deacon of the First Universalist church in Boston. Mr. Drake, the historian of Boston speaks of him as familiarly known as "Deacon Townsend." The late Dr. Whittemore puts on record concerning him, that "he was a highly respected citizen of Boston, who espoused the cause at an early period, and adorned the doctrine with godliness until his death."[8] He died of yellow fever, Aug. 31, 1798.

To return to the Philadelphia Convention. What debates, if any, were had en the recommendation in regard to "the

[6] Drakes' History and Antiquities of Boston, p. 687.

[7] Answer to an Appeal. p. 20. [8] Modern History of Universalism. p. 358.

Digitized by Google

institution of schools under the direction of every church," is not known; nor are there any facts or traditions on which to base an opinion as to whether the holding of these schools on Sunday, was or was not contemplated by the convention. It is certain, however, that we are warranted in saying that the action of the convention largely influenced, if it was not indeed the chief incitement to, the formation of what is uniformly agreed to have been, with the exception of the Dunker school in 1740,[9] the first Sunday school in America that has a definite history; and certainly the school which inaugurated a continuous and permanent institution.

Among the avowed Universalists in Philadelphia at this time, was Dr. Benjamin Rush. It is not known that he was a member of the convention, but it is evident from Mrs. Murray's letters to her parents, written from Philadelphia, the most of which are in the writer's possession, that he was then in frequent, if not daily conference with her husband. There is no doubt that he knew and sympathized with, if he did not participate in, the proceedings of the convention. One thing is certain, that, as the result of conferences which he held with Bishop White, of the Episcopal church, and Matthew Carey, an eminent Roman Catholic, they united with him in a call for a meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia, in Dec. 1790, "for the purpose of taking into consideration the establishment of Sunday schools for that city." On the 26th of that month they had so far organized as to adopt a Constitution for "The First-day or Sunday School Society," and their organization was completed on the 11th of January, 1791, by the election of their officers, Bishop White being chosen President.

The object of the organization is thus stated in the preamble to the Constitution:

"Whereas, the good education of youth is of the first importance to society, and numbers of children, the offspring

[9] The Dunkers were believers in Universal Restoration. James Bolton, one of their number, published a pamphlet, at Ephrata, in 1793, in which he censures the "Brethren" for not giving greater publicity to the doctrine, asserting that, "The German Baptists [Dunkers] all believe it."

Digitized by Google

of indigent parents, have not proper opportunities of instruction previous to their being apprenticed to trades; and whereas, among the youth of every large city, various instances occur of the first day of the week, called Sunday,—a day which ought to be devoted to religious improvement,—being employed to the worst of purposes, the depravity of morals and manners: It is therefore the opinion of sundry persons, that the establishment of Sunday schools in this city would be of essential advantage to the rising generation; and for effecting that benevolent purpose they have formed themselves into a society."

Their object is thus seen to have been identical with that of Robert Raikes in his work in England.[10] They opened their first school in March, 1791. After petitioning the legislature in vain for the establishment of the Sunday schools as free schools, they raised the necessary funds for compensating the teachers, by voluntary contributions.[11] The number of

[10] Mr. Raikes says; "The beginning of this scheme was entirely owing to accident. Some business leading me one morning into the suburbs of the city, where the lowest of the people (who are principally employed in the pin manufactory) chiefly reside, I was struck with concern at seeing a group of children, wretchedly ragged, at play in the street. I asked an inhabitant whether those children belonged to that part of the town, and lamented their misery and idleness. 'Ah! Sir,' said the woman to whom I was speaking, 'could you take a view of this part of the town on a Sunday, you would be shocked indeed; for then the street is filled with multitudes of these wretches, who, released on that day from employment, spend their time in noise and riot, playing at chuck, and cursing and swearing so horrid, as to convey to any serious mind an idea of hell rather than any other place. We have a worthy clergyman,' said she, 'minister of our parish, who has put some of them to school; but upon the Sabbath they are all given up to follow their inclinations without restraint, as their parents, totally abandoned themselves, have no idea of instilling into the minds of their children principles to which they themselves are entire strangers.'

"This conversation suggested to me that it would be at least a harmless attempt, if productive of no good, should some little plan be formed to check this deplorable profanation of the Sabbath. I then inquired if there were any decent, well-disposed women in the neighborhood, who kept schools for teaching to read. I presently was directed to four. To them I applied, and made an agreement with them to receive as many children as I should send upon a Sunday, whom they were to instruct in reading and in the Church Catechism. For this I engaged to pay them each a shilling for their day's employment. The women seemed pleased with the proposal. I then waited on the clergyman before mentioned, [Rev. Thomas Stock] and imparted to him my plan. He was so much satisfied with the idea, that he engaged to lend his assistance, by going around to the schools on a Sunday afternoon, to examine the progress that was made, and to enforce order and decorum among such a set of little heathens." Letter to Col. Townley, 1783. Pray's History of Sunday Schools, 1847. pp. 138, 140.

[11] In Mr. Raikes' experiment, the expenses seem to have been borne, for some time

Digitized by Google

schools increased to three during the first year, each of which contained nearly two hundred scholars. The last report of the society,—although their three schools continued in operation until 1816,—was made in 1800, at which time more than 2,000 pupils had been admitted, and the total amount of the receipts had been nearly $8,000.[12]

It is rather amusing to read some of the bills presented and paid. Here is one, dated "June 1, 1800. For teaching the Sunday school of girls three months at $100, per year, $25. For teaching 4–19–26 scholars more than 40, $1.19. Pens, ink, paper, $4. Two dozen spelling-books, $4. Rent of room, $5. Total, $39.19."

Early and persistent efforts were made to use these schools for sectarian purposes, but to prevent this abuse the society voted, in 1793, "that the instructions to be given in their schools should be confined to reading and writing from the Bible; but for such scholars as had not learned to read, spelling-book and primers might be used." [13]

by himself and Rev. Thomas Stock, Rector of the parish in which the school was commenced. In September, 1786, they held the First Sunday School Celebration. "After public service," says Mr. Raikes, "a collection for the benefit of the institution was made at the doors of the church. My astonishment was great indeed, when I found that the sum was not less than fifty-seven pounds." Something over two hundred and fifty dollars. Ibid. pp. 136, 158.

[12] In 1792 they voted the sum of ten pounds to be laid out in small moral books, to be lent to the scholars or given as premiums to the most deserving. In this they seem also to have followed the example of Mr. Raikes, who says, in the letter already quoted: "As my profession is that of a printer, I have printed a little book, which I give amongst them; and some friends of mine, subscribers to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, sometimes make me a present of a parcel of Bibles, Testaments, etc., which I distribute as rewards to the deserving." In a letter of later date, 1787, he says: "To those children who distinguish themselves as examples of diligence, quietness in behaviour, observance of order, kindness to their companions, etc., etc., I give some little token of regard,—as a pair of shoes, if they are barefooted; and some who are very bare of apparel, I clothe. This I have been enabled to do, in many instances, through the liberal support given me by my brothers in the city." Ibid. pp. 141, 146. 206.

[13] Ibid. p. 206. After the abandonment of these schools in 1816, the ladies of the First Universalist church "favorable to the establishment of a Sunday school for female children at the Universalist church," organized in October, "The Female Universalist Sunday School Society for the religious and moral instruction of children." In December, they also opened a male department. By membership fees, subscriptions, and contributions, they raised funds for shoes and other articles of clothing for the scholars whom they sought out among the poor in the dark lanes and alleys of the

Digitized by Google

The first Sunday school in Boston was commenced April 17th, 1791, only a month after the opening of the Sunday school in Philadelphia. In the "Columbian Centinel," of Wednesday, April 20, 1791, is the following announcement: "A Sunday school established by the liberal subscription of a number of patriotic gentlemen of this metropolis, was opened on Sunday last. It is under the direction of Mr. Oliver W. Lane, and embraces in its object, those of both sexes, under a certain age, whose habits of industry or other causes, debar from instruction on week days."

Oliver Wellington Lane, the teacher of this school, was the son of Captain James Lane, of Bedford, Mass., and was born in that town, Nov. 6th, 1752. He entered Harvard College in his seventeenth year, and was graduated therefrom in 1772. How and where he was employed during the Revolutionary War, the writer has not learned. For several years before his death which took place, Nov. 3d, 1793, he was the teacher of a school, probably a private school,—as we find no account of a public school at that period in that part of the town,—in what was then called West Boston. Very likely his school was kept at his residence, on Staniford street.

What branches Mr. Lane taught, we are not able to say; but the instruction at that time, in the public schools of Boston, except in the Latin school, was meagre. It is stated that in 1781 the books in use "were only and exclusively the New England primer, the psalter, the Testament, the Bible, with Dilworth's spelling book." No manual for arithmetic was then in use; the sole dependence for learning its rudiments was the master's rules and sums in manuscript. There was no text book of geography, nor grammar.[18] "Prior to 1784,

city, until at length, so numerous were the candidates for admission, and so low the funds, that it became necessary to limit the number of scholars, "not to exceed fifty" in each department. The duties of the teachers were thus prescribed: "The tutors shall instruct the children in reading, and in committing to memory passages of Holy Writ. They shall enjoin their frequent attendance at church, and endeavor to lead them in the path of virtue by pointing out the happiness attending it, and the fatal effects and misery of vice." The schools continued in this form till about 1826. A century of Universalism, etc. By Abel C. Thomas, 1872. pp. 135–138.

[18] Pray's History. p. 196.

Digitized by Google

the only schools to which girls were admitted" [for free instruction, in Boston,] "were kept by the teachers of the public schools between the forenoon and afternoon sessions. These schools were called 'writing schools;' and although reading and spelling were taught in them, this instruction was only incidental, being carried on, we cannot say attended to, while the teachers were making or mending pens preparatory to the regular writing lessons." [19]

We find another notice of Mr. Lane's Sunday school in "A Topographical and Historical Description of Boston, 179s." [By Thomas Pemberton]:

"Many children are kept from attending public worship through the inability of their parents suitably to clothe them; and their parents not being able to keep them within doors, they repair to the wharves and alleys to recreate themselves as on other days, to the great disturbance of the families in the vicinity of such places, and profanation of the day. If Sunday schools were instituted, both these evils might be prevented. The only requisites for attending the schools are clean hands and faces, and combed hair.[20] The master or mistress should refuse none who are sent to them; and the School Committee might appoint such hours for the children to attend, as they may think proper. Portions of Scripture should be read and explained by the preceptors; the Bible should be read by those scholars who can read, and those who cannot should be taught to read. A Catechism suitable for their ages should also be a part of their employment at these schools."

After speaking of the success of such a plan as set on foot in England, by Robert Raikes, and saying that "in 1790

[19] Memoir of Caleb Bingham. By William B. Fowle in the American *Journal of Education*, September, 1858.

[20] This is the identical condition imposed by Mr. Raikes. In his letter to Col Townley, he said: "With regard to the rules adopted, I only require that they come to the school on Sunday as clean as possible. Many were at first deterred, because they wanted decent clothing; but I could not undertake to supply this defect. I argue, therefore, if you can loiter about without shoes and in a ragged coat, you may as well come to school and learn what may tend to your good in that garb. I reject none on that footing. All that I require are clean hands, clean face, and the hair combed; if you have no clean shirt, come in what you have on. The want of decent apparel at first, kept great numbers at a distance; but they now begin to grow wiser, and all are pressing to learn." Pray's History, 142.

Digitized by Google

[1791] Sunday schools were established in Philadelphia," he adds:

"In 1791 some patriotic gentlemen of this town by a liberal subscription enabled the late Mr. Oliver Lane to open a Sunday school. It embraced in its objects both sexes under a certain age. The writer hopes such an establishment will not be wholly laid aside; and if it cannot be continued by voluntary subscription, that the public will take it into consideration, as perhaps public moneys cannot be appropriated to a more useful design.

"It may be added to the foregoing, that many poor children are employed on working days on some kind of labor to assist their parents in supporting them; and unless some provision is made for their instruction on Sundays, they must be wholly deprived of the benefit of education. Many of their parents, though inclined, are incapable of instructing them."[21]

We have no further information with regard to this school. Where its sessions were held, the numbers in attendance, its fate after the death of Mr. Lane,—we are at present ignorant concerning. The foregoing certainly establishes the fact, however, that a Sunday school was in existence in Boston twenty-one years earlier than is generally supposed.

That Mr. Lane was a Universalist, is equally true. He was a member of Rev. John Murray's congregation, and on the organization of the church in February, 1791, was elected one of the deacons. He was also during the same year, and to October, 1792, joined with George Richards, then a layman in the same church, in the compilation of a collection of hymns for the use of that congregation.[22]

The Installation of Rev. John Murray, as pastor of the First Universalist church in Boston, October 23, 1793 was conducted

[21] Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, for the year 1794 Vol. III., p. 267.

[22] "Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs: Selected and Original. Designed for the use of the Church Universal, in public and private devotion.

Glory to God in the Highest, and on Earth
Peace and Good Will towards Men.—*The Song of Angels.*

One Song employs all nations, and all cry,
Worthy the Lamb, for he was slain for us.—*Cowper.*

Printed at Boston, by J. Thomas and E. T. Andrews. Faust's Statue, No. 45, Newbury street. MDCCXCII." 12 mo. pp. 267 and Index.

Digitized by Google

by Deacon Lane. His death occurred only a few days after; the following notice appearing in the *Centinel* of November 6, 1793: "In this town, Mr. Oliver Wellington Lane, Preceptor of the school at West Boston, and one of the deacons of the First Universalist church, Aet. 42. The religious society in which he had attained unto a good degree, have met with an afflictive bereavement by the death of Mr. Lane. The civil community, of which he was a valuable and useful member, will long regret the loss of an excellent Preceptor, whose modes of instruction gained him the conficence of the parent, and won the affections of the child. A widow,—a widow indeed, whose husband is dead,—and six small children, lament the kindest of husbands and the best of fathers. Mr. Lane's funeral will move from his late dwelling-house at West Boston this afternoon at half-past three o'clock. The church, congregation and society, are respectfully invited to attend. The pupils of the now departed are requested to pay the last tribute of regard; and all the relatives and numerous friends of the deceased, are called to the house of mourning."

On the head-stone at his grave in the Old Granary Burying Ground, is the following inscription: "Beneath this spot reposes the mortal part of Oliver W. Lane, Jun'r, Deacon of the Universalist church in Boston, Obt. Nov. 3d, 1793, aged 42 years. In whom was United the Real Christian, the Accomplished Gentleman, and Unrivalled Preceptor."

Why he is called "junior," in this inscription we are at a loss to conjecture. It is evidently a mistake, as the writer has his autograph appended to several letters and other documents, and in no instance does he use it. The records of Harvard College also show his parentage as before stated.

The object of this paper has been to adduce the proofs that Townsend, Rush, and Lane, sustain the same relation to Sunday schools in America that Robert Raikes sustained to them in England and throughout Europe. If they were not the first to employ them in instructing children on this continent, as probably they were not, it is certain that continuous effort in this direction, dates from their work in 1790 and 1791.

Digitized by Google

ARTICLE XXIX.

Eternal Regret.

THERE is an opinion current among many at the present time, that one must forever regret the sin he has committed The past it is said is unchangeable and irrevocable. A thing once done is done forever. No act of our lives can ever be recalled. A sinful act produces regret, and as that act can never be recalled or changed, it must produce regret forever. Regret is pain, therefore, there will be pain in the universe forever.

This may be regarded as the central objection to the theory that there can be nothing to cause "pain when the great plan of the universe shall be fully executed." It is put forth in the interest of the doctrine of endless suffering. It may be regarded as one of the corner-stones of the new would-be scientific orthodoxy. This orthodoxy in order to root itself in the very nature of things, bases its doctrine of endless suffering on the unchangeableness of the past as an immutable foundation. It is on the rock here, it supposes. Nothing can drive it from this position.

Joseph Cook elaborates this position after the following manner. He is arguing against the doctrine that when the plan of the universe is fully executed, when God's purpose in the creation and salvation of man is fully accomplished, there will be no such thing as pain or imperfection in the universe. He says,—

"So you admit that the past is irreversible? I hope you do; certainly I do. Very well; if the past is irreversible, there are some six thousand years at least during which not a few men have done, what conscience proclaims ought not to have been done. Gentlemen, that record is to last, is it not? Oh no! Oh no! It would be against the deepest of the liberal instincts to suppose that anything that can cause regret and pain will be in existence when the great plan of the universe has been fully executed. What! a record having in it all the Neros and Caligulas, all the perjuries and leprosies and

Digitized by Google

butcheries of all time, and existing there as a thing that ought not to have been—a record irreversible and inerasable—and yet this give no regret to consciences looking back upon it, even if they are purified ones? Gentlemen, there will be forever in the universe a record of every sin that has been committed in it. There will be forever in the universe regret on the part of all consciences in the universe that sin was committed. If regret is pain, there will be pain in the universe forever." Again, he says, "I believe solemnly that I shall never cease to regret any sin which I outgrow. It always will be to me a thing that ought not to have been; and my future will have rays of bliss taken off of it by every sin I have committed; and that will be true no matter what God does for me." (Orthodoxy, pp. 16–17.)

This is a clear, straight-forward statement and endorsement of the doctrine of eternal regret. It has the merit of being brave and unflinching. Its author accepts all the consequences of his theory. He expects to suffer regret to all eternity for the sins he has committed. So far as clearness of statement is concerned, it is all that can be desired, but it does not make the doctrine any more worthy of belief. It helps to get the matter clearly before us, but it does not add anything to its credibility. Having however, the matter so clearly stated, it will help us in our proposed critical examination of it.

It will be seen, first of all that this position is taken in the interest of endless punishment. It is put forward to show how unreasonable is the hope of final perfection for our race, and to get a base of operation in defence of the doctrine of endless suffering. Admit the truth of this position and such suffering is possible, if not very probable. We cannot say that in God's universe there can be no such thing as absolutely endless evil. For here is regret for past sins which is an evil, and which according to this teaching may—nay *must* last forever. But if this evil lasts forever, then very much greater evils may.

This is the reason why this position is so positively taken and so stoutly argued. It is to get a foothold, outside of the Bible, for the doctrine of endless punishment. It has come

Digitized by Google

to be seen pretty clearly that it will no longer do to rest this doctrine exclusively on the Scriptures. The critical examination of the sacred text upon this point has become so thorough and complete, that it alone can no longer support this sentiment. It must get help from some other source, or be given up. The position we are considering is an attempt to get this help. It is an effort to find a standing place for this doctrine in reason and philosophy, to get under it one real fact of experience.

As Mr. Cook more than intimated, it is an attempt to throw across the great chasm a thread of truth sufficiently strong to carry over a cable that will finally hold the weight of this tremendous dogma. Once admit that we shall forever regret the sin we have committed, and the gulf is spanned with a thread woven from the facts of experience, by the aid of which a cable can be laid on which this doctrine may securely rest. The past being irreversible, its record will stand, and if the sight of that record, so far as it is sinful, causes pain forever, then Universalism, it is thought, is not only driven to the wall, but the doctrine of endless suffering placed upon a sure foundation. Let us see how much of this is true. Let us admit the soundnesss of the position that past sins must ever cause sorrow, and see what follows, see if it will accomplish what is expected of it.

This position being sound, no such heaven is possible to our race as Universalism contemplates. If every one must regret to all eternity the sin he has committed, then a heaven of perfect, undiminished happiness for our race is clearly out of the question, and our hope of perfect peace and unalloyed bliss for all men is baseless.

But such a heaven is not only impossible to *all men* it is impossible *to any man*. No soul that has once sinned can ever be perfectly happy, for it will regret forever that sin and that regret will diminish its happiness. This Mr. Cook admits. He solemnly declares that he believes that rays of bliss will be taken from his future for every sin that he commits. Consequently no soul that has sinned in this world

Digitized by Google

will ever be perfectly happy in the next. It may enjoy much, but it never can be at peace with its past life. Its heaven will be forever diminished by so much as it sorrows for its past sin.

We have therefore, the position we are considering being sound, the astounding conclusion that there can be no such thing as a perfect heaven in God's universe. No soul will ever enjoy as much as though it had never sinned. Man's sin will ever mar the harmony and peace of creation. The saints in heaven, even, will forever suffer the consequences of their own sins. And this, notwithstanding all that God has done or ever will do for them, notwithstanding all that He has done to save the world, notwithstanding he has sacrificed his own Son to redeem from sin, yet man, though he believe on that Son with all his heart and follow him to the last step in obedience, never can get rid of the consequences of his own guilt, never outgrow the regret of his own transgression.

How strange that men in trying to destroy the world's hope, are willing to shipwreck their own! How strange that in their eagerness to find holes in their neighbor's armor they should uncover themselves! How strange that a man should be so eager to sustain the doctrine of endless sin and suffering, that he is even willing to steal a portion of heaven out of which to manufacture his hell! Surely this is the spirit of controversy run mad.

But unfortunately this position does not support the doctrine after all. Admitting that it destroys the hope of a perfect heaven for all by making way with this hope for any, it does not establish the doctrine of perfect misery for any. If it fails of getting any body into a perfect heaven, it just as signally fails of getting any one into a perfect hell. For aught this argument says to the contrary, every soul in the end, may enjoy all it is capable of enjoying. God may do the best he can for every soul he has created. He may not, on account of sin, be able to raise any soul to *perfect* happiness, but he may raise every one to all the happiness possible to him.

Digitized by Google

No one may be as blessed as he would have been, if he had not sinned, but every one may be as blessed as is possible considering his sin. Into this imperfect heaven all may at last go, for if one can have this heaven, then all can. If Mr. Cook himself can reach this point, then all other men can. His argument does not testify to the contrary. It does not deny the possibility of such a heaven for all men. Clearly then this position is unfortunate for its advocates. It will not serve their purpose. It diminishes the joys of the blest without ensuring the misery of the cursed. It refuses to give any substantial support to the doctrine which they would build upon it. It may be a thread of truth, but it will not support a cable strong enough to sustain the doctrine of eternal woe. A hell of perfect misery cannot be hung thereupon.

The assumption on which this position is grounded is the irreversibility of the past. The man who has once sinned, therefore, can never change that sin. It will stand against him forever. And as that act causes regret, so he will forever suffer regret. But does this follow? Admit that the past is unchangeable as to its facts. Doubtless this is true. A record once made can never be changed as to its facts, but does it follow that it can never be as to its effects? Because the past is irreversible does it follow that the effect or influence of that past must ever be the same?

The pioneers of this new country have suffered many a hard ship. They know what want and privation, and struggle for existence, and home sickness mean, and the record of all these trials can never be effaced. But well-housed on their fine farms, and surrounded with every comfort, are they suffering from these things still? Visit one of them and will you find him in tears over the hardships of his pioneer life?

Nay, he will recount those hardships with joy. He will tell you of his trials and struggles and victories with glowing satisfaction. The witchery of recollection transforms the past. Distance lends enchantment to the view. What was bitterness in the experience has become sweetness in the memory. The sorrows of the early time have become the

Digitized by Google

joys of ripened age. Not one of those trials or sorrows would be parted with for worlds. They have become glittering jewels in the crown of him who so worthily bore them. The past therefore, though irrevocable as to its facts, is not unchangeable in its effects. The record cannot be changed, but the influence of that record or our relation thereto may be.

Just here is the defect in the logic of this position. It jumps to its conclusion. Affirming that an act of sin causing regret, as it does, must stand, it concludes that that regret must ever be the same because the fact cannot be erased.

But this we see is a non-sequitur. The record may remain unchanged, but the influence of that record upon us in after years may be very different from what it was in the beginning. This the illustration makes very evident. It clearly shows that the immutability of the past does not ensure the immutability of the influence of the past.

But it may be said that the illustration is not conclusive, because it does not include sin. The position we are considering is taken only in the matter of sin. It is only when we sin that the influence of the past is unchangeable. As we look back upon other acts or experiences of our lives, their influence upon us may change, but not in the case of sin. No matter how far away from it we may be, or how sincere our repentance, or sweet our forgiveness, that act standing there in our memory, must forever cause regret. It must forever cause the sorrowful wish that it had not been. It can never suggest anything but pain.

This is the position taken, and it is taken only in the case of sin. But is this true in the case of sin? Is it true that our sinful deeds ever haunt us with sorrow? Is their influence upon our happiness ever the same?

Clearly it is not the same in strength. It changes at least in degree. As the years roll by it ceases to cause such deep regret. A deed of wickedness that at first caused very keen and sharp pain, comes after a while to cause very little. Through repentance and an earnest endeavor to repair the

Digitized by Google

evil we have done, the sting of regret gradually dies out of our hearts. We outgrow it, as we say. This all know to be true. We all know by our own experience that the regret we now feel for the sins we committed long ago, and repented of, is not so keen and distressing as it was in the beginning. And, judging the future by the past, we have every reason to believe that in time it will utterly disappear. Having gradually diminished, we may justly conclude that somewhere in eternity it will fade out forever. The influence of our past sins therefore is not unchangeable in degree.

But is it not true that the influence of our sins sometimes changes its character, so that as we look back upon them they suggest to us, not sorrow, but great love and gratitude? Look back along the line of your life, Reader, and see if you have not done evil deeds that, as you recall them now, suggest something beside regret, the thought of which touches your soul with a strange, indescribable joy There are your parents, for instance. Many a time you disobeyed their commands. At that particular time you sinned against them grievously. But they with loving faithfulness made you feel, very keenly their displeasure. Punishment followed quickly on the heels of transgression, and the hand was never taken off until repentance had done its perfect work. Then came the blessed and joyful restoration of forgiveness. The wondrous love of those parents flooded your soul; you were taken back to their bosoms and treated as though you never had sinned, and in some way the bonds of affection seemed to bind you all into a closer, more holy and blessed union than ever before.

As you look back on that experience now what feelings are stirred in the soul? What deep emotion sweeps through your heart? Is it regret for your disobedience? Is it sorrow for your sin? Nay, is it not a feeling of supreme gratitude for the loving faithfulness of these parents? Does not the memory of their forgiving love banish all other thoughts? Does not the recollection of the sweetness of that reconciliation extract the bitterness from the thought of sin? As this

Digitized by Google

great flood tide of feeling sweeps over your soul, does your thought rest for a moment on the act of disobedience? Does it not all concentrate on that forgiving love? And does not this thought awaken such holy emotions of love and gratitude that all that is painful is swept from the heart? Has not the bitterness of that experience turned to sweetness in the memory? Would you blot out that chapter from your history if you could? Do you now wish it had been different? In this experience did you not receive a revelation of a depth of love in those parents' hearts, that you could not have received in any other way, and which you would not part with for worlds? And does not this love whiten every spot in your record of that event? Does it not transmute and transform the whole experience into a sacred and holy joy?

Dr. Bushnell relates an incident that may illustrate the transforming power of this forgiving love.

"A noted English preacher, traveling on horseback in the country, is stopped by a foot-pad demanding his money. Asking, 'Will you let me pray?' he immediately descends and begins a prayer. It is fervently made for both parties, and begins to be answered by a thought occurrent that contains the answer; an answer that makes heavy cost for him and mortgages much that is most precious in life's comforts to the robber. Rising to his feet, he questions how a life so unjust and wicked was begun; charges it kindly to some sorrowful defect of nature, some atmosphere of bad example.

"Still the wrong and danger of it are none the less, for it is clearly, a life that is both against God and against society. 'Come, now,' he says, 'let me offer you something better.' 'Go home with me and take employment in my service. I will see that no human being, not even my family shall know of this affair as long as we live.' Accepting the offer the man took service with his benefactor, and his crime was never known till it was reported in a voluntary confession from his own lips, on the day of his master's funeral."[1]

Now what was the overpowering, all-subduing, soul-filling emotion that filled the heart of this man, as he stood in tears over his master's grave? Was it regret for his sin? Did he

[1] Forgiveness and Law. Page 45.

Digitized by Google

weep in sorrow that once he attempted to rob so good a man? Nay, it was the feeling of gratitude for that wondrous love which in forgiving him, had saved him. The thought of the goodness of his benefactor melted him to tears of joy and swept from his mind all other thoughts, and transmuted whatsoever was bitter in his experience into the sweetness of a holy and ever increasing thankfulness and joy.

Surely this transforming and transfiguring power is of the very essence of Christianity, is the "promise and potency" of the gospel. The man who does not see it, knows not the heart of God in Jesus Christ, sees not the inwardness of the Almighty in the Son of redemption. The voice of Scripture is, "*Though your sins be as scarlet they shall be as white as snow, though they be red like crimson they shall be as wool.*" How can this be if our sins shall follow us with regret forever? How can these words be true if through all eternity we shall mourn the sins of time? How can these sins be whitened in our memory if the black spots they make will be black forever? Surely here is the promise of a transforming and transfiguring power that shall clothe the soul in the white robes of purity, and turn their sorrow into joy.

And has not Christianity that power? Has not the retributive and forgiving love of God, as revealed in Jesus Christ, just this strange and marvellous potency? Look at the Cross. What does that say to us on this point? Is the cross the same to-day that it was before Jesus hung thereupon? Does it speak to us only of man's sin and cruelty, and cause us to weep with sorrow and anguish? Not a thought of what it *once* was comes to our minds as we contemplate it. All the darkness, error and sin for which it once stood, are gone forever. The cross is transfigured. God touched it with his forgiving love and it shines now with celestial glory. It is henceforth the symbol of our holy religion, because it tells us of that marvellous grace that blots out our sins forever.

The history of that cross is the history of every soul redeemed. Its sins are transfigured even as the cross is trans-

Digitized by Google

figured in the eye of a Christian. They speak no more of regret and retribution, but of forgiveness and love. Say what we will, account for it as we may, there is in this wondrous love of God, that which lies beneath all our experience of redemption and reconciliation, and which works in and through all just this transforming and transfiguring change. In that love our sins are washed away. In that love our sorrow is turned to joy. In that love there is a sweetness that not even the bitterness of regret can withstand.

All this talk of eternal regret therefore is without foundation. It is heathenism and not Christianity, and is put forth to sustain a "dying belief." The record of the world's sin will stand as to its facts, but be transformed as to its effects. It will serve as but the background of redeeming love. It will open to us that fountain of infinite grace, which, without it, never would have been uncovered, and through the cleansing waters of which all souls will at last be washed clean, put on the image of the heavenly, and rejoice in the Lord forever.

Article XXX.

Other World Order.

Of law there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is in the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world; all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, the greatest as not exempted from her power.—*Richard Hooker.*

We assume in the outset, and without a shadow of doubt, that there is a spirit-world; a *place* of residence for men, women and children, who go from this world thither through the gateway of death. The purpose of this inquiry is to ascertain, so far as may be ascertained by the instrumentality of reason and revelation, the social condition of that world, the method of distribution of its vast populations, and the order that is there established and maintained.

Digitized by Google

We shall not pause here to discuss with the sceptic the practical utility of such inquiry. Enough that the spirit-world is to be our future dwelling-place, and that common sense dictates that, at least, we endeavor to know something about it. A knowledge of our whereabouts, of the character of the coast we are approaching, and of the country we must soon enter, is necessary to induce reasonaule precaution, and assure us with regard to final results. Undoubtedly it is not pleasant to be caught on the Grand Banks in a fog, with a dreadful uncertainty touching icebergs and the precise vicinity of the coast. We are not by nature agnostics. We know, cannot help knowing, and have an insatiable desire to know. We are voyagers on an unknown sea; and we cannot forbear asking, — Is the port to which we are consigned in "a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof," or does it "flow with milk and honey"? or has it some features of resemblance to the fine old world we are leaving behind? Obviously, our mental satisfaction, and present contentment, in great measure depend upon the answer we give to these questions. The spirit-world may be a very beautiful world, diversified with the most beautiful scenery and supplied with every appliance to gratify the taste and expand the mind; but of what avail beautiful scenery and appliances for æsthetic and mental culture, if its social conditions be uncongenial? It may afford every conceivable means of personal enjoyment; but of what avail means of personal enjoyment if there we fail to meet and know our parents, brothers and sisters, our children and our cherished friends? If we shall realize that they are not only lost to us forever, but forever unspeakably wretched, of what avail white robes, golden crowns and a retinue of people in whom we had no earthly interest, and with whom we were not even acquainted? Beyond question, it is beneath the dignity of an immortal being to be indifferent, or to affect indifference to the social condition of our after-death home. Let us begin our inquiry. We hold the following proposition to be self-evident:

I. All who enter the spirit-world are not immediately

Digitized by Google

after death equally developed intellectually and spiritually, nor equally holy and happy.

Variety and diversity are established and uniform laws. The diversity of parentage, the infinite variety of souls, the manifold degrees of development and culture, imply that these laws are not only exterior, but *interior* conditions that are irreversible and ineradicable. They inhere in the constitution of things. The telescope and microscope report their presence, not only in the largest aggregations of matter, but also in the minutest particles. The manifestations and forms of life, from the lowest to the highest in the scale, disclose no exception. Are we not justified, therefore, on grounds of strictly scientific deduction, in concluding that beyond our mortal ken there is no exception, even to the uttermost limits? If the reverse of this be true; if variety and diversity are not a part of the constitution of things; if all be equally developed, and in all other respects equal after death, not only is the spirit-world, socially, a dead level, but practically, so far as our future life is concerned, a good life here goes for nothing; and we may well say with the voluptuary, "Let us eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die!" Do bad, or do well; know something, or know nothing; it will be all the same by and by! For the present it is sufficient to say, there is no danger that such a godless philosophy of life, here and hereafter, and an ignorance of facts so dense, will obtain any considerable following. Practically the world is too active, too wide-awake, and too earnest to be thus misled. It will never give up the incentives that have proven so effective in its mental and spiritual growth. Those incentives, whether near or far, belong to the future, call from the future, and lead into the future.

II. But Revelation supplements the testimony of nature and reason, and assures us that the spirit-world is characterized by great variety and diversity of states.

St. Paul treats the question of other world order on grounds purely rational; aided by great spiritual illumination. To the question, "How are the dead raised up?" he answers:

Digitized by Google

1. "That which thou sowest is not quickened except it die." Before the germ of the seed can be developed into the blade, the stalk, the ear, the external covering of the germ must burst asunder and perish. So, too, before man can be "quickened," or developed for the life immortal, he must be released from his material body by the agency of death.

2. Furthermore: "And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not the body that shall be." The grain that is sown is not gathered again. The farmer leaves it to perish in the ground. But the germ and the species to which it belongs are preserved, and in due time re-appear in the ripened grain of the harvest. The material body once laid aside is never again resumed. "It is not the body that shall be." But that which gave to the body vitality, motion and form, is preserved and "clothed upon" for the garner immortal.

3. But again: "All flesh is not the same flesh. There is one kind of flesh of men, another of birds, another of fishes. There are bodies terrestrial, and bodies celestial. There is a glory of the sun, a glory of the moon, and a glory of the stars. And one star differeth from another star in glory. So also is the future life."[1] (*anastasis.*) These orders and grades, or this variety of things exists everywhere here; and so far as

[1] "This word *anastasis* (says Dr. Dwight) is commonly but often erroneously rendered Resurrection. So far as I have observed, it usually denotes our existence beyond the grave, Its original and literal meaning is, to stand up, or to stand again. Many passages of Scripture would have been rendered more intelligible, and the thoughts contained in them more just and impressive, had the word been translated agreeably to its original meaning. This observation will be sufficiently illustrated by a recurrence to that remarkable passage which contains the dispute between our Saviour and the Sadducees. 'Then came unto him,' says the evangelist, 'the Sadducees who say there is no resurrection — that is, no future state, or no future existence for mankind. They declare seven brothers to have married successively one wife, who survived them all They then ask, 'Whose wife shall she be in the resurrection'— that is, in the future state.— Our Saviour answers, 'In the resurrection,' or as it should be rendered, in the future state, 'they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven! But as touching the resurrection of the dead, have you not read that which was spoken unto you by God?'— or as it ought to have been rendered, 'Have ye not read that which was spoken to you by God concerning the future existence of those who are dead, saying, I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not a God of the dead but of the living.' Those who die, therefore, live after they are dead; and this FUTURE LIFE is the ANASTASIS; which is proved by our Saviour in this passage, and which is UNIVERSALLY denoted by this term throughout the New Testament." Systemat. Theol. Serm. 64.

Digitized by Google

our knowledge of creation extends, neither order or grade is broken. The links of the chain, up to the point where our actual knowledge terminates, are all alike. The inference, therefore, is that beyond that point they continue to be the same. Indeed, it would not be difficult to demonstrate that the material world is a type of the spirit-world, and that "invisible things from the foundation of the world" may be known "by the things that are made." If this be not so, then the analogy of the fifteenth chapter of first Corinthians must be given up, and the argument commonly based upon it go for nothing!

4. But Paul keeps to the analogy: "It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption. It is sown in weakness, it is raised in power. It is sown in dishonor, it is raised in glory. It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body." The present life is the first stage of our being; the immortal life is the second. They are stages, not of two different beings, but of the same being; while the law of variety of grade and degree, which, as we have said, inheres in the constitution of things, continues to assert itself and to be obeyed. One star continues to differ from another star in magnitude, and in the splendor of its shining; while the cause of difference, — the degree of distance from the central sun, — must necessarily operate as long as the sun exists to shine, and stars to be shone upon. Nowhere is creation a dead level; nor can it be reduced to a dead level!

Thus far St. Paul. If he may be trusted as an authority, or, if one prefer, if the analogy on which his argument is based be reliable, it is certain that the social organization of the spirit-world is marked by great variety of personal situation and state. Like a public school the spirit-world is "graded," ability, acquirements, similarity of tastes, determining the grade. The law of variety is inflexible, and cannot be set aside. It is based in absolute necessity, and therefore embraces all worlds. The possibility of particular existence depends upon its observance. If each thing and creature were like every other thing and creature, separate, or

Digitized by Google

differentiated existence would be impossible. Things that are like are certain to affinitize and seek to occupy a common focus. That road leads to chaos.

Moreover, without variety, beauty, which is so marked and essential a feature of creation, would be impossible; for beauty depends for expression upon variety of form and color, light and shade; distance sometimes lending "enchantment to the view." If creation were possible without variety, it would not only be devoid of use, but of every feature that now makes it "a thing of beauty and a joy forever." It would be stale, flat and unprofitable. And this would result to each particular thing and group of things, as well as to creation as a whole. It is impossible, therefore, to conceive of the spirit-world as in any way different, externally and in its social organization, in respect to variety, from this world. "A place for everything, and everything in the right place," is the motto to which Deity works.

III. But physical and social variety imply intellectual and moral variety. In point of fact they are inseparable. There are good and bad, intelligent and ignorant here. There are good and bad, intelligent and ignorant there.

Thirty-six millions of human beings die annually. They enter the spirit-world from every sphere of life, from every nation and land under heaven. Every physical, moral and intellectual grade, and every degree of grade, is represented. A very large number that go thither are infants. Of adults it is a low estimate to say that two-thirds are from pagan lands and from the criminal and most abandoned classes of society; and of the remainder one would scarcely venture to say, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven." Is it not pertinent, therefore, to ask,— Is this immense multitude poured yearly into the world of souls without discrimination or restraint, and allowed to mix and intermix? Is the spirit-world a veritable witches' carnival, where "black spirits and white, blue spirits and grey, mingle, mingle, mingle," immediately after death, and, irrespective of variety, mingle forever? Then the spirit-world is no improvement on this world, and perfect harmony and hap-

Digitized by Google

piness, be it in heaven, hell, or elsewhere, is manifestly impossible. But if the variety of form and feature, disposition and taste, tendency and development, that exist here, also exist there, as an ineradicable part of our *proprium*, then such intermixture as would interfere with individual happiness or general harmony, or tend to obliterate moral distinctions, cannot take place; and especially if perfect knowledge of each other be added. Any textual construction made to militate against this conclusion should at once be suspected.

Society as it exists here, whether civilized or semi-civilized, is made possible, and its imperfect order maintained, by observance of moral and intellectual distinctions. Society shades off, by almost imperceptible degrees, from the highest virtue to the lowest vice, from great enlightenment to the profoundest ignorance, from Christian civilization to the most beastly barbarism, from faith in God and man to cold-blooded nihilism. But were human insight into character more perfect, these different gradations would not, nay, could not, be intermixed. Each gradation would be clearly defined and made separate, and each degree distinctly terminated. The tendencies of modern society are all towards this result. A general sifting and separation of its elements and the formation of distinct social centres is now taking place. There are now centres of refined manners, of moral culture, of intellectual development, of art, of music, of literature, of science, of wealth, of politics, of religion; and the lower grades of society are not less distinctly separated. Everywhere like is seeking its like. Refinement is seeking refinement, culture is seeking culture, spirituality is seeking spirituality, wickedness and vulgarity are seeking wickedness and vulgarity. In the words of a homely proverb, "Birds of a feather flock together"; and as one result of our present ignorance, the different flocks sometimes get badly intermixed! "*Now* we see through a glass darkly; *now* we see in part, and know in part;" and this fact sufficiently accounts for the present imperfection of our social organization, and its tremendous discords even in the most favored centers of our civilization.

Digitized by Google

And here the words of Jesus deserve attention. Among his last words, he said to his disciples, "In my Father's house are *many* mansions. I go to prepare a *place* for you. And if I go and prepare a *place* for you, I will come again and receive you to myself, that *where* I am ye may be also." That he had reference not only to *place*, but to *fitness* of place, who can doubt? And that *variety* of place, according to fitness, is equally implied, is undeniable. If all be in the same "place" in the spirit-world, Jesus' words are simply an absurdity. At any rate, between the "place" that "eye hath not seen, ear hath not heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive, that God hath prepared for those that love Him," and the "place" prepared for those who do not love Him, the difference must be something, to us mortals, inconceivable.

We are led, therefore, to conclude that the law of variety, *in every particular*, prevails and asserts itself in the spirit-world as certainly as it prevails and asserts itself here. Yea, more certainly and inflexibly there than here, as that world is more luminous and perfect than this. We have not only the authority of the Bible, but of conmon sense, to assure us that there we shall "see face to face, and know *even as we are known*."

To illustrate the tremendous significance of these last words, —Suppose that to-morrow morning every person should be permitted to know as much about every other person within their acquaintance as they know about themselves. How many friendships that would not be broken? How many business relations that would not be severed? How many marriages that would not immediately be intolerable? Is it not obvious that the majority of old relations would speedily break up and new relations be formed? Society would be reconstructed as quickly as possible, and primary affinities, illuminated by actual knowledge, would prevail. Heaven and hell on earth, not intermixed, but separate, would be the necessary and natural result.

In the clear light of immortality, when our knowledge of each other shall be complete, how can the result be otherwise

Digitized by Google

in the spirit-world? The changes in association that transpire after death must be very radical. Heaven is built on order, is order; and in its economy each "goes to his own *place*." And this is effected not by caprice, but by the silent agency of law operating from *within*, so that no violence is done to preferences or attractions. Each goes willingly "to his own place," and therefore by choice, and is as happy in his choice as capacity and conditions permit.

Something like this is transpiring here on notable occasions, and daily in common life. Without violence, and generally independent of force from without, men and women are silently following their preferences. Political parties are formed on the basis of personal preference. Creeds are accepted from choice. Churches, often antagonistic in doctrine and discipline, are monuments of the irrepressible law that aggregates likes and establishes lines of fellowship. Chemical affinity, that is so imperious in determining forms of matter, moves upward a degree, and is equally imperious in determining social organization. Can it be that it is less imperious on the higher plane of the spirit-life? If the spiritual life, the most interior reality, of each individual were laid bare, if every thought, word and act were brought into judgment, how long would that festering debauchee, or that satined and jewelled harlot, hold their places in popular respect and on the uppermost seats of society? How long would that gilded and sanctimonious hypocrite sit at ease in the pew of a fashionable church? The common sentiment of virtue and righteousness would speedily relegate them to their kind, and keep them there until ruled by new and higher attractions, and made fit associates of the pure and good.

IV. The notion, sometimes indulged, that on entering the spirit-world such a flood of light will at once break forth as to overwhelm all the evil with a sense of their sinfulness, convince them of the unchangeable goodness and love of God, induce immediate repentance and reformation, and make them fit associates of saints and angels, and of the Lord Jesus Christ, is without a particle of foundation. The conversion of St. Paul, often cited to sustain this notion, is not in point.

Digitized by Google

One thing is certain: The method of Paul's conversion is not the method God ordinarily employs in the conversion of souls. Paul's conversion was as exeeptional as the turning of water into wine, or the feeding of five thousand people with five small loaves and two fishes. Besides, Paul was a man of great purity of character and life. He was simply a man in error. He "thought he was doing God service." All that was neccesary, therefore, to make him a disciple of Jesus Christ and fit to be an apostle and an associate of apostles, was to change his convictions. That done, and his conversion to other views and other ways was complete. Is there not a wide difference between his case and that of a man who is wrong all the way through? who is not only wrong in theory, but in every particular of his life? Here, for example, is an atheist. He knows not God, nor does he wish to know Him. He denies and spurns the Bible and all churches. He has no faith in invincible virtue, nor in instinctive honor or truthfulness, nor in natural goodness. If men or women are virtuous, honest, truthful, God-fearing and man-loving, he believes it is because they are principled in selfishness, and conceive that their interest lies in that direction. Added to this he is a liar, a cheat, debauchee, drunkard, and what not that is low and wicked. Is such a person the peer of St. Paul before his conversion? And for the conversion of such a person is nothing needful but a way-side vision, such as Paul had when on his way to Damascus? To make him such as Paul became after the vision, is it simply necessary to change his convictions about the nature of sin, and the essential goodness and love of God? If the method of the conversion of Paul was the common and established method in God's "plan of salvation," — but we know it is not,— it would not apply successfully to the case of such a person as we have supposed. And there are thousands of just such cases even in Christian lands. There are thousands of men and women who know that sin is "exceedingly sinful," and its consequences intensely evil. They know, too, that God is "great in goodness," and that a good life is every moment better than a wicked life; and yet

Digitized by Google

they continue in evil, and apparently make no effort to change for the better. What such persons need is not more experience and more light, but an honest and efficient utilization of the experience and light they now have! Men are seldom excused for wrong doing on account of their ignorance. The courts are pronouncing judgment against men every day because they knew the difference between right and wrong, but persisted in the wrong.

V. The analogy also drawn from the "glory of the stars," is defective when urged in support of the theory of uniform glory immediately after death.

Whatever may be truthfully said of the "glory of the stars," this is undeniable — the "stars"[2] are not all alike. Their glory, as already said, depends upon their magnitude and distance from the sun. Does the analogy hold? Shall we say that the glory of souls, their moral splendor, upon the earth and in the heavens, depends upon the magnitude of their virtues and their distance from the Spiritual Sun? This, undoubtedly, is true, and to this extent the analogy holds.

But does it hold a step farther? Some stars have been, and, by astronomers, are believed to be even now, the theatre of tremendous convulsions, rent by earthquakes, and ablaze with volcanoes; while others, like our moon, are believed to be dead and unfit for the abode of life. Does the analogy still hold? Is it not evident that the analogy of the stars has been pressed slightly too far to serve the theory of uniform glory?

VI. The analogy, too, drawn from the butterfly, is as defective as that drawn from the stars, especially when used for the same purpose. The material body, with its evil accumulations and suggestions, it is said, is put off at death, and a spiritual, incorruptible body takes its place. How can a wicked man, dying in wickedness, continue to be wicked in such a body? The unsightly worm is changed to a beautiful butterfly. Its capacities are enlarged, and it moves in a different sphere. It no longer crawls in filth, but flits from

[2] The word "stars" is here used in its popular sense.

Digitized by Google

flower to flower, soars aloft in the light of heaven, and subsists on nectar. Is not this, it is asked, the essence of St. Paul's analogy touching the resurrection?

O, treacherous analogy! We are glad to say Paul did not sanction it. Nor has it authority in Scripture. Paul's analogy is drawn from sown grain, the different orders of nature, and the various glory of the stars, and is in answer to the question, How are the dead raised up, and with what *body* do they come?

The butterfly is, indeed, "a thing of beauty," to look upon; but, like many other beauties, its beauty is only "skin deep." If it but lived to bask in the sunshine and extract the nectar of flowers, it would be a fit type of the beautiful, harmless, and innocent; but that lovely creature is literally a gilded magazine of destruction. Its body is packed with eggs, from which the multitudinous caterpillar will in due time come forth to prey upon the vegetation of the farmer, and despoil the garden of its loveliness. Had God neglected to provide for its destruction in its larva state on a large scale, the labor of the husbandman and gardener would be in vain. One female will produce three hundred eggs a year, and if her offspring were to go on at that rate of increase, in four years her progeny would be eight thousand, one hundred millions! A sad type, — if it be taken as a type, — of man's resurrection state! Evidently, the butterfly is an unsafe analogue of our future moral and spiritual condition. Our future in the spirit-world will not, we suspect, depend upon our external beauty, nor upon our ability to soar aloft in the light of heaven, bask in the sunshine, and live on nectar; but chiefly, if not altogether, upon what we are in the ruling affections of our hearts.

Once rid of our material body, we shall undoubtedly be free from many encumbrances, pains and temptations that now beset us; but if one would think correctly of man in the world of spirits, it is essential to begin with the fact that neither the material nor the spiritual *body* is MAN! Neglect to observe this fact and be governed by it, has been prolific of

Digitized by Google

any amount of shallow theory and false reasoning. The body is not man. MAN is "clothed upon" with a spiritual *body*. Neither here nor there is the body the seat of reason, conscience, will, nor of any intellectual operation. Say that all impressions, influences, knowledges, come to the soul from without, through the body as a medium, — but we know they do not, — is it the medium that gives character to the man, or the impressions and influences that act through the medium? Evidently the latter. Say that at death the material body is laid aside, and man invested with a spiritual body, what, then? The *man* is the identical *man* after death that he was before death. Did he die in wickedness? He has simply moved out of his old house into a new one; but he has not lost his personal identity. Was he John Smith? He is John Smith still; and, for the time being, neither more nor less. If a very wicked man, his reason is perverted, conscience inactive, the will weak or vacillating, the moral sense more or less paralyzed, and all his tendencies towards doing and being setting in a wrong direction. How he shall behave and what he shall become in his new house and in the new land of his emigration, will depend on new surroundings, new influences, the element of time, and the coöperation with these of his understanding, conscience and will. How long he shall abide as he is, no man can tell. But one thing is certain: his freedom of choice, the pivot on which his future must forever turn, will not be violated. The good and the bad alike will have perfect liberty to put to the highest use their best conceptions and attainments, to utilize their new surroundings, and make the most of their new opportunities and new home. Once more "the world is all before them"; where and how to choose rests, next to God, with themselves.

VII. The result of other world order will be the final holiness and happiness of all souls; but the law of variety and diversity will continue to arrange the spirit-world according to attainment and tendency, suitableness of "*place*," according to attainment and tendency, being strictly observed.

We are authorized by common sense and by the Scriptures, to affirm the following propositions:

Digitized by Google

1. God is omnipotent in power.
2. His power is controlled by His wisdom and goodness.
3. He cannot, therefore, tolerate a permanent evil.
4. He must, therefore, combat and exterminate evil.
5. As means to its extermination he employs discipline, moral and intellectual development.
6. The object, — harmony of *all* things with their Creator, — is so pursued, and the work so successfully carried on, in both worlds, that the result is certain.
7. Past achievements are a guarantee of final success.

It is undeniable that the material world has been the theater of development and busy improvement from its beginning. And at no period of its history has God employed His omnipotence for the furtherance of evil. Under the direction of His intellectual and moral powers, His omnipotence has been engaged in promoting the best good of all His creatures. Slavery has gone down before freedom, and barbarism is rapidly going down before civilization. Ignorance is yielding to knowledge, error to truth, and sin to righteousness. If improvement shall go on for a thousand years to come at only its past ratio, it is easy to perceive that at no comparatively distant period, the predictions of the old prophets and seers will be realized: "And the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea." "And the seventh angel sounded, and there were great voices in heaven saying, The kingdoms of this world have become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ"!

But the ratio of past progress is no just measure for the future. Improvement ever accelerates. Intelligence and truth are ever spreading with increasing volume and momentum; while ignorance and error are ever weakening and diminishing. There is evidently a power, under wise control and guidance, regenerating mankind. The world is out of harmony with its Creator; and, in the nature of things, it cannot forever remain out of harmony. Things or forces out of equilibrium must ultimately adjust themselves; and when two opposing forces meet, the stronger is certain to triumph.

Digitized by Google

The material world is as certain to be reduced to order, as its past historical development and progress towards that result is undeniable. The social world is as certain to be reduced to order, as its ascent from barbarism to its grand achievements in civilization indicates a mathematical order that can neither be diverted nor permanently interrupted this side of its legitimate goal. This is the noble result foreseen by the seers and sung by the poets of the ages.

The question, therefore, is a pertinent one, Are the infinite attributes of the Almighty, so active here, quiescent in the world of spirits? *Is God doing everything for this world, and nothing for the world of spirits?* Is He doing everything to exterminate sin and evil *here*, and nothing to exterminate them *there*? As a matter of fact, it is impossible for God to be quiescent so long as an antagonist to Himself or to His government, exists within His dominions. It is an urgent necessity with God — a necessity that inheres in Himself — to reduce to harmony the realm of matter and the realm of souls! Whatever the condition of the spirit-world, God is operating there, helped by all good men and women, by "the spirits of just men made perfect," by multitudes of holy angels, by the punishments sin inflicts, by sorrow and regret, by the desire to rise to better states and better things,— to secure perfect order and harmony, perfect holiness and happiness. With the attainment of less than this it is impossible God should be satisfied! With less than this He cannot be at peace with Himself, nor appease the demands of His moral nature. No plea of intractability of matter or spirit will do. It must be forever useless for that which *makes* to attempt to shift the responsibility of failure upon the thing or creature *made!* It is a transaction that will not bear the light.

We assert, then, that God is not quiescent in the world of spirit. We assert, too, that the same classes, having the same need of development and improvement, that exist here, exist there; and that progress goes forward there, and through similar instrumentalities, as it does here. Destiny with respect to results is the same in both worlds. To this conclu-

Digitized by Google

sion facts and reasons already adduced irreversibly lead. Independent of any peculiarity of theological opinion touching the spirit-world, it must be conceded that, among its vast population there are individuals and classes that need and should have "reproof, instruction and correction in righteousness, that they may be thoroughly furnished unto all good works."

1. Nearly one half the human race die in infancy. They enter the spirit-world weak, helpless, ignorant. Undeveloped physically, mentally, spiritually, they need there as much as they would have needed here constant care and instruction. Their need is undeniable. Are they neglected? Are they left to shift for themselves? "It is not," said Jesus, "the will of my Father that one of these little ones should perish." "Their angels do ever behold the face of my Father in heaven." They are undoubtedly cared for, these motherless immortals, and trained up to the beauty and glory of immortal manhood and womanhood. And is it unreasonable to believe that mothers who go thither and whose hearts yearn for the little ones left behind, find solace in the adoption of some motherless babe? The care, education and training of little children, must be a marked feature of the spirit-world.

2. There is another large class in the spirit-world who need and do have the assistance of others more capable than themselves. They are the mentally and spiritually helpless. Grant that the majority who enter the spirit-world from semi-barbarous countries are honest and conscientious, according to their light and means of light; and yet, it must be conceded that they need enlightenment and culture in manifold ways, as greatly as do little children. They are children. They are ignorant of the true God, of Jesus Christ, of truth that saves the soul, that feeds and enlarges the mind, that expands and fertilizes the heart: of all scientific knowledge and literary culture; without which a man's life cannot be made complete. A heaven of mere ignorant goodies would be stale, flat and insipid to an unbearable degree. The education, therefore, of these populations is an imperative necessity. And in this great work such spirits as are typified by Robert

Digitized by Google

Raikes, George Müller, Henry Pestalozzi, the volunteer teachers of Night schools, Ragged schools, Sunday schools and the like, find an appropriate field for their genius and the realizations of their aspirations for the advancement of their fellow-men. There such men as Humboldt, Newton, Herschel, Ritter, Faraday, Hugh Miller, — men profound in knowledge and apt to teach,— will have full scope for their ability, and joyfully appreciative audiences to attend on their instruction. And there, too, the great preachers and noble, self-sacrificing missionaries, like a mariner's compass after a long voyage, corrected and reset, proclaim the "one God, one Lord, one baptism, one Father of all, who is above all and in all." From age to age the work has gone on, and will continue to go on until the ignorant, the misinformed and misdirected children of the Heavenly Father are illuminated with true knowledge, harmonized and made equal to the angels.

3. And still there is another class in the spirit-world who need help and who are helped, namely, the desperately wicked. This class is comparatively small. The great majority of men and women are not desperately wicked, nor even wicked from choice. Who knows among their acquaintance one who is desperately wicked? Wholly wicked no one is, nor can be, inasmuch as no one lives who is not a receptacle of life from the Lord; and reason should teach us that life from the Lord cannot flow into, and abide in anything wholly unlike itself. Shall this class of persons be confined and left to fester eternally in their wickedness, or shall they be disciplined and tutored into paths of duty, and be finally saved? To shut forever away from saving influences any class of immortals, however wicked, and, without benefit to themselves or to others, compel them to continue forever in wickedness, would be shocking to reason, abhorrent to all right feeling, and in direct contradiction to the known character and purpose of God. It would also be contrary to the genius of Christianity, to the spirit of the age, and to the spirit that prevails and rules in heaven.

To educate this class of immortals in righteousness, in love

Digitized by Google

to God, and in whatever else is necessary to their development and happiness, affords a sphere of labor for Jesus Christ, who died that they might live; for the angels, who are their brothers; for such spirits as John Howard, Charles Spear, Dorothy Dix and Florence Nightingale. It is impossible that men and women who spent their lives in hospitals, prisons and criminal court rooms, should be any more content in the heavens than they were upon the earth, while from prisons of ignorance and sin the wretched condition of lost souls is appealing to them for help. Who can think of Howard, Spear, Garrison, Parker, Dix, Nightingale, reclining at ease in Paradise or playing on golden harps, with serene indifference to the sufferings of those who have stumbled and fallen into the pit! One of two things must be true: either these men and women, and such as these, are engaged in rejoicing at their own escape from ceaseless misery, or in the more praiseworthy work of assisting those less fortunate than themselves, to break the shackles of ignorance, passion and habit in which they are bound, and rise to the attainment of "the glorious liberty of the children of God." Work, undoubtedly, generous, benevolent, Christian work, in behalf of God's needy and suffering children, must blissfully employ a portion of the time and energy of the blessed!

The conclusion to which this inquiry has conducted us is, that the social condition of the spirit-world is under perfect control and in most perfect order. Knowledge there of character is complete, and this results in order. No one's preferences are violated, and this tends to order. Work, profit, and enjoyment, according to proclivity, taste and capacity, are open to all. None are overlooked, forgotten, or neglected. All, absolutely all, are provided for. And all are tending to one final focus. The great mælstrom of Infinite Love holds all things secure within its all-embracing rings, and at last will draw all things to itself. "For of Him, and through Him, and to Him, are all things: to whom be glory forever!"

Digitized by Google

GENERAL REVIEW.

The Doctrine of Salvation in the Old Testament.

We hope some day to see a thorough and scholarly treatment of the Bible Doctrine of Salvation. There is no teaching of the Scriptures so little understood, and concerning which such crude and ill-digested opinions are held even by intelligent Christians. What is needed is a patient and comprehensive inquiry into the various meanings of the words *saved*, *salvation*, and their derivatives, beginning with the earliest books of the Old Testament, and following the usage through history and prophecy, through psalms and proverbs; thence through the apocryphal books, and whatever Jewish literature remains from the four hundred years intervening between the close of the Old Testament and the opening of the New; and thence into the New Testament, and the use of the terms by the Savior and his disciples and apostles, as they appear in the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles; and finally into the writings of the early Christian Fathers.

The leading purpose of such an inquiry should be, 1. To determine the point of time, or more properly the historical period in which the words *saved*, *salvation*, etc., took on a spiritual meaning; or, in other words, passed over from the sense of escape or deliverance from physical evils, to deliverance from moral and spiritual evils. 2. To determine the period at which, beside the meaning of deliverance from moral and spiritual evils in this life — as ignorance, unbelief, disobedience, sin—they took on the meaning of deliverance from the consequences or the punishment of these, endless or otherwise, in the future life.

The slightest examination will show that in the early books of the Old Testament the words are used only in the sense of temporal deliverance, escape from dangers, enemies, death, etc. Indeed they are found only twenty-three times, if we have counted correctly, in the entire Pentateuch, an average of less than five times in each of the five Books of Moses; and in every instance in the sense of deliverance from temporal physical evils. The first occurrence of the word *save* is in Gen. xii, where Abram says to Sarai, his wife, "The Egyptians will kill me, and *save* thee alive." It is found next in Gen. xix, where Lot, escaping from Sodom, says, "Oh Lord, thou hast magnified thy mercy in *saving* my life." So Numbers x, "Ye

Digitized by Google

shall be *saved* from your enemies;" and in Exod. xiv, "The Lord *saved* Israel that day;" and Moses says to the Israelites at the Red Sea, "Fear ye not, stand still, and see the *salvation* of the Lord, which he will show you to-day, for the Egyptians whom ye have seen to-day, ye shall see them again no more forever." Exod. xiv.

In all these passages it will be seen that there is but one idea associated with the words, viz.: rescue, extrication, redemption from physical sufferings or death. The reference is always to the salvation of the body, never of the soul; it is material, not spiritual redemption.

Let us pass now to the Historical Records subsequent to the Pentateuch. The word *save* occurs only three times in Joshua, vi, x, xxii: and is used with reference first to the saving of life, and in the other two passages for deliverance from the armies of the enemy. In Judges we find it nine times, always meaning deliverance from death or enemies. The words are not in the book of Ruth. In the six Historical Books of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles, we have some fifty examples of *saved* and *salvation*, and in every instance they are employed to represent escape or redemption from bodily perils, death or enemies; unless 2 Chron. vi. 41, is an exception. This passage comes into the memorable prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the temple, and in direct connection with a petition for the deliverance of his people in case of captivity: "Now, my God, let, I beseech thee, thine eyes be open, and thine ears attent unto the prayer that is made in this place. Let thy priests, O Lord God, be clothed with *salvation*, and let thy saints rejoice in goodness."

It would seem as if there were something in the nature of a moral or spiritual quality involved in the word *salvation* here; and the inference is strengthened by the parallelism of the word with *goodness* in the last half of the verse. At the same time it is a matter of question whether the terms relate to God or man. Directly connected as it is with the prayer for material blessings, deliverance and security from foreign enemies, this petition may express the desire that the priests, as the representatives of the people, may be special objects of the divine goodness, and be so providentially guided. so "clothed with salvation," as to be able to deliver the nation in every time of danger, disloyalty, or corruption. And this seems confirmed by the fact that when Solomon had made an end of praying, and the sacrifices began, the people "bowed themselves with their faces to the ground, and worshipped, and praised the Lord, saying, "For *He* is *good*, for his mercy endureth forever."

Digitized by Google

However this may be, if we turn to Proverbs, where the wisdom and the piety of Solomon are supposed to be especially embalmed, we find only *two* instances in which he uses the word *saved* in any sense: xx, 22, "Say not thou, I will recompense evil, but wait on the Lord, and he shall save thee;" and xxviii. 18, "Whoso walketh uprightly shall be saved (or safe), but he that is perverse in his ways shall fall at once." In neither of these do we find anything more than temporal deliverance and safety; and so far as the record goes these three passages are the only examples of Solomon's use of the words under examination. It is difficult to believe, if they had come into popular use in his time to express a spiritual salvation, or a religious condition of mind and heart, or a deliverance from the consequences or retributions of sin, or from sin itself, that we should be left to discover this fact from a single doubtful utterance, which is certainly capable of a different interpretation.

Nehemiah employs *save* once only, to signify the preservation of bodily life, and *saviours* once only to designate the great leaders or generals who had delivered the people of Israel from the hands of their enemies: vi. 11, ix. 27. The words are not found at all in Ezra, Esther, Ecclesiastes nor in the song of Solomon. The Book of Job uses the word *seven* times, but in every instance to represent deliverance from temporal or material difficulties, or death; as in ii. 4, where "The Lord said unto Satan, Behold he (Job) is in thy hand, but *save* his life." See v. 15, xiii. 16, xx. 20, xxii. 29, xxvi. 2, xl. 14.

Thus far, as the reader will see, we have followed the order of the books, Proverbs excepted, without regard to the chronology of their several histories, or the dates of their compilation or composition. With the various theories on these points held by Biblical scholars, we should be obliged either to decide arbitrarily the question of dates, or be led into arguments which would take us continually aside from the one thing only which we have in view in this article. It will be necessary, however, in what remains to speak of some leading dates, or general divisions of time, touching this Hebrew literature, its collection and contents, in order to illustrate the usage and history of the words in review. These approximate dates are generally accepted, and are near enough to the truth probably to answer all the purposes of our inquiry.

We come then to the Book of Psalms, generally ascribed to David, though only a portion of them were written by him; the balance, as the superscriptions show, being by Asaph, the sons of Korah, the

Digitized by Google

Levite singers, and anonymous authors. They cover the period from the beginning of the kingdom under Saul, about B. C. 1100, to the return from the Babylonian Captivity, about B. C. 535–450. Some critics extend the period to the Maccabean era.

The Psalms certainly more than any other portion of the Old Testament embody the devotional and spiritual elements of Jewish life and thought, so far as David may be supposed to represent these. Even the Christian Church has adopted them as the best forms of devout prayer and praise; as the most fitting and beautiful utterances of religious experience, aspiration and thanksgiving; as most perfectly meeting all the needs, and desires, and sorrows and joys of the believing soul. How far they have read into them their own meaning and wishes is not a point entering into our investigation; but so far as the words *salvation*, *save*, etc., are concerned, they seldom, if ever, occur in these Hebrew hymns and prayers, in the large and spiritual sense of the Christian dialect, and never in the sense of deliverance from punishment. They are employed nearly a hundred times, but not once in such connection as to suggest this last meaning; and never is the usage such as to compel the sense of spiritual salvation in its highest definitions. As Harper's Cyclopædia correctly says,—

"No idea was more ingrained in the Jewish mind than the truth that God was a Savior, a Helper, a Deliverer, a Rescuer, a Defender, a Preserver to his people. Their whole history was a history of salvation, and an unfolding of the nature and purposes of the Divine Being. Israel was a saved people, delivered from enemies on every side, preserved in prosperity, and restored from adversity, all by one Person whom they had been taught to call Jehovah. Though human instruments were constantly used as saviors—as, for instance, the judges—the people were always taught that it was God who saved by their hand. . . . The Hebrews rarely use concrete terms, as they are called, but often abstract terms. Instead of saying God *saves* them and protects them, they say, God is their *salvation*. A voice, a word, or tidings of *salvation*, is equivalent to a voice declaring deliverance, etc. Similarly, to work *great salvation* in Israel signifies to deliver Israel from some imminent danger, to obtain a great victory over enemies."

The Rev. Dr. Thompson, Lord Archbishop of York, says in his article on Savior in Smith's Dictionary, that the words σώζειν and σωτηρία ("to save" and "salvation") in the Septuagint,

"Stand as equivalents for (Hebrew) words conveying the notions of well being, succor, peace, and the like. If we turn to the Hebrew

Digitized by Google

terms we cannot fail to be struck with their comprehensiveness. Our verb "to save" implies, in its ordinary sense, the rescue of a person from actual or impending danger. This is undoubtedly included in the Hebrew root *yasha*, and may be said to be its ordinary sense. But beyond this it expresses *assistance* and *protection* of every kind — assistance in aggressive measures, protection against attack; and, in a secondary sense, the results of such assistance — victory, safety, prosperity and happiness. We may cite as an instance of the *aggressive* sense, Deut. xx. 4, 'To fight for you against your enemies, to save you;' of *protection* against attack, Isa. xxvi. 1, 'Salvation will God appoint for walls and bulwarks;" of *victory*, 2 Sam. viii. 6; of *prosperity* and *happiness*. Isa. lxi. 10, 'He hath clothed me with the garments of salvation.' . . . It thus appears that the Hebrew and Greek terms had their positive as well as negative side; in other words, that they expressed the presence of blessing as well as the sense of danger, actual security as well as the removal of insecurity.

The historical personages to whom the terms are applied further illustrate this view. The Judges are styled saviors, as having rescued their country from a state of bondage; a savior was subsequently raised up in the person of Jeroboam II to deliver Israel from the Syrians, 2 Kings xiii. 5; and in the same sense Josephus styles the deliverance from Egypt 'a salvation.' Similarly, the office of the 'saviors' promised in Obad. 21 was to execute vengeance on Edom. The Greek *soter* (savior) was in a similar manner applied in the double sense of a deliverer from foreign foes, as Ptolemy Soter, and a general protector, as in the numerous instances where it is appointed as the title of heathen deities." Arts. *Salvation* and *Savior*.

We have given these long extracts from orthodox authorities to show the reader the facts on which rests our statement that a careful examination of the Psalms in which these words *save* and *salvation* occur, will show that they did not originally, and were not intended to express the idea of a spiritual salvation, or a salvation from sin; and above all that they never refer to a salvation of any sort beyond this present life. As seen in the above testimonies, the Jewish or Hebrew mind was saturated with the idea of God as a Savior from temporal calamsties; chiefly as a Savior of his people, of the nation, from their enemies; a Deliverer from defeat, disaster, captivity, destruction. Out of this ever present thought and feeling come the phrases which abound in the Psalms, such as the "cup of salvation," the "horn of salvation," the "rock of salvation," the "shield of salvation." the "helmet of salvation" the "garment of salvation," etc., expressive of refuge, security, deliverance, preserving power. And how natural that these Hebrew praise hymns, the very soul of poetry, should thus give utterance to the people's gratitude and rejoicing for

Digitized by Google

their deliverance from defeat, captivity, or destruction by national or individual enemies. It was this kind of salvation this divine protection and redemption from the power of their enemies, this mercy which "endureth forever" (Psalm cxxxvi.), that David and the Hebrew singers celebrated in these grand old psalms of praise which are still employed as the most eloquent and fitting expressions of private and public thanksgiving to God for any signal deliverance from dangor.

The writers in the Dictionary of Smith and the Cyclopædia of McClintosh and Strong, remark in a hesitating way that the idea of a spiritual salvation was not foreign to the Hebrew mind, and refer to several of the Psalms in proof of it, but an examination of the passages will show that the reference is to national conditions and national salvation or deliverance, exceptive perhaps xxxix. 8, and indeed these writers confess that many of the citations from psalms and prophets, "admit of a reference to proximate events of a *temporal nature*," though it is thought that they "look to higher things."

If now we pass over into the prophecies of Isaiah, following the Paslms, we go down some three centuries, from David to Hezekiah, from B. C. 1050 to about B. C. 750. While during this interval, the meaning of the words in review is fully retained as expressive of temporal salvation or deliverance from national disasters, captivity, etc., under certain conditions of special inspiration, there is mingled in the speech of the prophet, *but not in the speech of the people*, something of a religious and spiritual significance. The words occur in this book about fifty times and in a very great majority of cases are employed in the old national and popular sense: "Be thou our salvation in time of trouble," xxxiii.; "therefore mine own arm brought salvation to me," lxiii.; "I will feed them that oppress thee with their own flesh, and they shall be drunken with their own blood, and all flesh shall know that I the Lord am thy Savior and thy Redeemer," xlix.; the idolater prays to "a god that cannot save him out of his trouble," xlvi.; "Behold your God will come and save you," xxxv; "I am the Lord, and beside me there is no savior. I have declared, and have saved when there was no strange god among you," xliii., etc.

But, as said, intermingled with these are found passages which seem to look above and beyond a salvation from material or physical calamities; beyond a deliverance of the people of Israel from national misfortunes, from conquest, captivity, and the power of their enemies.

Digitized by Google

We do not forget that the Hebrew prophets were poets, and we make allowance for the splendor of their diction, their lavish wealth of metaphor, their poetical superlatives, and the oriental coloring of their pictures of things present and to come. At the same time such highly wrought passages as are found in chapters xi.–xii-, xxv., xxxv., xlv., lii., lx. and lxi., are too spiritual in conception, too broad in the sweep of their vision, to be narrowed down to the restoration and prosperity of the Jewish people, or the enthronement of a Jewish king. If the reader will turn to the chapters referred to, and read them carefully, he will probably agree with us in this opinion.

In some cases, to be sure, comparison with other passages will be likely to qualify his first impressions; as, for example, lii.: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth. . . . The Lord hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God." This last seemingly points to a future when all mankind shall hear the good tidings and share in the salvation of the gospel—granting this to be a Messianic prophecy. But turning to Psalm xcviii. 3, we find the same language in the past tense, and confined to the people of Israel: "He hath remembered his mercy and his truth toward the house of Israel; all the ends of the earth *have seen* the salvation of our God." Plainly the "salvation" here is a temporal deliverance, already accomplished; and "all the ends of the earth" cannot be taken literally.

Then again, those grand and far-reaching prophecies are so mingled with others whose temper and purpose and phraseology localize them both in time and place, that it is often very difficult to tell where the first end and the last begin. But the last, beyond debate, belong exclusively to the affairs of Judah and Israel, their fortunes and misfortunes, their idolatries and rebellions, their victories and defeats. But after all such qualifications, and giving the confusions and difficulties of interpretation their full weight, it is next to impossible to *feel* that all the magnificent predictions referred to — so lofty in spirit, so broad and generous in their humanities, so universal in promise — look only to the prosperity and safety of a few Hebrew tribes, noted mostly for their ingratitude, corruptions, and persistent transgression of the laws of Jehovah.

When we read such utterances as those in Isa. xlv.: "Look unto me and be ye saved all the ends of the earth; for I am God, and there

Digitized by Google

is none else. I have sworn by myself, and the word has gone out of my mouth in righteousness, and shall not return, that unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear, surely shall say, In the Lord have I righteousness and strength" — and compare it with the words of Paul (Phil. ii.), who perhaps had this passage in mind when he said that "every knee should bow, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father"—we cannot but think that something more than a salvation of the Jews from their enemies is intended — even a salvation from sin, a salvation of righteousness and (spiritual) strength," for the whole race of man. and when we read in xxv., that, "In this mountain (the gospel kingdom) the Lord of hosts will make unto all people a feast of fat things; and will destroy the covering cast over the face of all people, and the vail that is spread over all nations; and will swallow up death in victory, and wipe away tears from all faces," — and compare this with Paul's triumphant psalm of the Resurrection in which he quotes it (1 Cor. xv.) — we feel sure in spite of all the exegetical difficulties, that we have here something more than redemption from calamity and suffering; even a salvation that takes hold on the soul, and rises into the glory of the immortal.

It has long seemed to us that there were times when the Jewish prophets, Isaiah especially, were caught up out of themselves, out of their limitations, out of the narrowness of Jewish life and thought; and that, standing up there on the heavenly heights, filled with the Spirit God, they looked over and beyond their own little territory to "the ends of the earth," and saw their nation swallowed up in a common humanity; looked over and beyond their present far on into the future ages, to the end of time; and caught glimpses of the splendors and the universalism of the Messianic reign, and of the glory of the Lord in his completed plan and purpose of training, and educating, and gathering into one in Christ all the nations, and families and kindreds of the earth.

But then they often fell from these lofty heights of inspiration as suddenly as they rose to them, and the divine vision which for a moment took in the Future of the World faded out or narrowed down to the Present of Israel; and the Prophet of Humanity sank into a Jewish teacher or patriot, and seemed to forget that he had been face to face with the Infinite and Eternal. As an example, take chap. xi. where the prophet gives us that beautiful description of the results of

Digitized by Google

the Messiah's reign; the wolf and the lamb, the leopard and the kid, the calf and the lion, lying down together, and a little child leading them; the nations ceasing to hurt and destroy, and the whole earth filled with the knowledge of the Lord — and then, the next moment, drops down to speak of the envy of Ephraim, the adversaries of Judah, the spoils of the earth, the subjection of Edom and Moab, and the overthrow of Egypt. It is possible, of course, that all these may be mere metaphors descriptive of the destruction of all opposition and evil.

There is yet another fact bearing on the question, which shows that whatever the religious and spiritual character of these inspired utterances, they did not enter into the common thought and speech of the people. Isaiah himself, as we have seen, except on the occasions alluded to appears not to have any clear conception of a salvation of the soul, a spiritual regeneration of the whole man; and in his ordinary teaching employs the terms *save*, *salvation*, *savior* in the popular sense of deliverance from temporal disasters, defeats, dangers and national troubles. And the later and minor prophets all use the words in the same way, when they use them at all, and seem not to have any notion of a salvation like that which the gospel teaches; nor indeed of any sort except that which pertains to their own people, deliverance from their enemies, and from their calamities and troubles, by the strong hand of Jehovah.

This brings us to the close of the Old Testament period, to the last of those remarkable men whom the Jews held to be inspired Prophets of Jehovah, and whose teachings and writings were regarded as the only established authority in matters of doctrine. As remarked, we have confined our inquiries to the English words *save*, *salvation*, etc., but of course there are other terms and forms of speech in which the idea of a spiritual or moral salvation may be expressed. Still, if that idea were current in the thought of people or prophets, it is hardly possible that it should not have sometimes found utterance in these words.

So it may be assumed that, if this language had been common among the Jews, at any time during the period reviewed, to express a belief of deliverance from the punishment of sin after death, it certainly must have appeared clearly and frequently in the historical and prophetical writings; and yet, as we have seen, there is no trace of it, neither in the warnings and encouragements of the prophets,

Digitized by Google

nor in those narrations of the Pentateuch, Joshua, Kings, Chronicles and other books, which give us the daily life, the conduct and thoughts of the righteous and the wicked, the penitent and the impenitent, the living and the dying, among the so-called people of God.

Indeed, as is now universally admitted among Biblical scholars, both orthodox and heterodox, the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, makes no part of the Law of Moses. As Paley says, "The Mosaic dispensation dealt in temporal awards and punishments —and these blessings (Deut. xxviii.)—consisted *altogether* of worldly benefits, and these curses of worldly punishments." And the text-book of Andover Theological Seminary (Jahn) says, "No other motives were held out to the ancient Hebrews to pursue good and avoid evil, than those which were derived from the rewards and punishments of this life." Prof. Mayer, formerly of the Reformed Dutch Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania, speaking of the Pentateuch says, "No mention is anywhere made of a judgment at the end of the world . . . the rewards and punishments are such only as are awarded in the present state of being." So Archbishop Whateley, Bishop Warburton, Prof. Wines, Milman, etc.

This being the case the Jews could not of course employ the words *save* and *salvation* in the sense of deliverance from punishment after death; a doctrine which their Law did not teach, and which they did not believe up to the time of Malachi, the last of their prophets, B. C. 400. But soon after this date, when the canon of the Old Testament was closed, and they were without inspired guides or teachers, we find these terms evidently in popular use to express the idea of salvation from *future material punishments;* though not as yet is their anything to show that the punishments are believed to be *endless.* This will appear very clearly, with many other foreign and heathen notions, to any one making a careful study of the Old Testament Apocrypha.

We trust that some one of our diligent students, amply competent to look into the Hebrew and Greek originals, and catch all the shades of thought and suggestion embodied in the words examined in this article, and in other equivalent and kindred phraseology, will enter into the investigation of this subject, carry it through the several periods named in our introductory paragraph, and give the results to the readers of the *Quarterly.*

Digitized by Google

The Battle of Unbelief.

Some one has said that he who never doubted only half believes. Is there not some truth in this? Is it not by doubts and questionings and answerings, by difficulties solved, by manifold struggles with unbelief, by investigation and labor and prayer, the tide of feeling and conviction now ebbing and now flooding—is it not in this way, through this wild dark conflict, that at last we get our feet planted on the solid rock of Faith, and fling the banner of victory to the breeze?

There are times when the problems of Life press upon us with overmastering force, and we stagger for a moment in spite of our strength, and the courage with which we seek to face the mystery. Plans of happiness and usefulness which we had formed, into which we had flung all onr feelings, all our energies and hopes, confident that there was nothing in them on which Heaven itself could frown, and expecting that God would surely give his blessing on efforts involving so much good to others as well as ourselves,—these beneficent plans, these fond hopes are suddenly trampled out in the dust, and the heart that cherished them so fervently throbs with unutterable anguish, and bleeds at every pore. And the mind is stunned and bewildered with the suddenness of the blow, with the seeming wanton cruelty which, without visible cause, has shattered the beautiful edifice that was built up with so much promise of usefulness.

Sometimes, when the night thus snddenly bursts in upon our bright glad day, shutting out the sunlight, and bringing no light of the stars in the place of it, the question will spring up, Why should so much good, proposed and ready to be wrought out, be destroyed, and so much evil come into the place of it? If God lives and guides all things, why does he permit this? If he is our Father, and loves us, why does he deal with us in this way?

Again: We look abroad into the political and social world, and we see the inequality, injustice, oppression and slavery which weigh down the millions, grinding them into the earth; we see exhausted, unrequited labor huddled in its wretched hovels; we see hunger with its gaunt and livid face, destitution in every form, ignorance, depravity, and crime of every grade, all seething and weltering together.

At the same time, side by side with these, we see enormous wealth wasted in revel and dissipation, in frivolous and corrupting amusements. We see the whole soil of a nation, as England, Scotland, Ireland, owned by a few thousands of nobles and landlords; whole

Digitized by Google

districts depopulated to make hunting grounds for a single individual, while thousands are on the verge of starvation for the want of a potato patch. We see palaces adorned with all the wonders of nature and the splendors of art; enough spent at a horse-race, or in a single day's pleasures, to make scores of suffering families comfortable for a whole year. And with these inequalities, we see all the hatred and revenge, the fierce and fiery passions, which flood in between the unjustly rich and the unjustly poor, the oppressor and the oppressed.

When all these discords and social antagonisms, all these real and terrible evils, rise up before us, and challenge our faith in explanation, we find it hard battling against the doubts which will sometimes sweep in upon our thought—hard battling with the questions which will rise up in spite of us. Is this world only a chance medley, a kind of arena, where Might and Right, Good and Evil, fight out their battle, and the strongest has it? If there is a good and just God, why does he not interfere to prevent all this wrong and cruelty? why does he not show himself more visibly on the side of justice and suffering virtue?

Yet once more: Here is a man, one of the noblest specimens of human nature seen in a life's observation; gentle and loving as a child, yet embodying the will and energy and enterprise of a score of ordinary men—benevolent to a proverb, beloved and honored by all who know him; hundreds relieved and employed by him, and depending on his enterprise for the means of earning their bread,—a man whose life seems absolutely necessary to the welfare and happiness of those about him, to say nothing of the devotion and unspeakable tenderness with which he is loved at home by those whose very being is bound up in him.

This man dies, is struck down in the midst of his usefulness and hopes and beneficent action, his fall bringing desolation, and almost the madness of despair to those to whom he was so dear, and his life so precious. *He* dies, while within reach of him a miserable, worthless, brutal thing, a loathsome wreck of humanity, a curse to himself and to all connected with him, whose death would be a relief and a blessing—this one is suffered to live, and linger on year after year, a noisome pestilence, a foul cancerous tumor on society!

Seeing these things, we feel that life is indeed a battle, and that with these subtle and obstinate foes the thoughtful must have a hard fight of it. And happy are they if the beautiful banner of faith do not sometimes trail in the dust, and get soiled and trampled in the

Digitized by Google

wild rush and uproar of the conflict. Happy are they if, with help of Reason, of Scripture, and of God, they come off at last victorious, bringing from the battle-field the spoils of unbelief.

But after all, if it do not end in victory, what *does* come of it? Suppose we retreat from the high ground of the Christian faith, and take refuge in the conclusion that there is no God, and no divine government in the affairs of the world, or, in other words, blank, naked, absolute Atheism! What kind of refuge is *this*? What have we gained? how much nearer are we to a solution of the problems which oppress us? Not one step nearer. The evils still weigh upon us, whether their source or origin is named Chance, or Nature, or God; and they press just as heavily, and are just as real. By denying God, we change not the weight or form of the burthen, but only the name of it.

The shadows still fall, sorrow and suffering still wring the loving heart, sickness, death and evil are still in the world; and we do not, cannot see how believing they are the product or sport of mere chance, or the result of the iron laws of Nature, will make them any easier for us to bear, than believing they are all under the control and direction of a wise and beneficent God, our Father, who uses them for good and gracious ends, and who, when those ends are accomplished, will abolish them forever.

Yes, says the Demon of Doubt, but it is not a question of what I shall gain or lose, but a question of logical necessity. I may wish to believe, but with these difficulties in my way, it is not what I *would* but what I *must*. If there is a God, and he is infinitely good, these things could not be. But these things *are*. Therefore, there is *not* a God; or, if there is, he is not infinitely good. So does Unbelief fight out her battle with the soul, and drive it sometimes to the borders of universal Night.

"You must remove this abounding evil from the universe, before I can believe there is a God," say Doubt and Unbelief. But Reason replies, "You must remove the abounding proofs of his existence from the universe, before I can believe there is *not* a God."

The most indeed that can be logically made out of the existence of evil, is this; "Evil exists, and therefore there is a difficulty in the proof." This would be admitted, for there are few questions, or subjects of human thought and inquiry, without difficulty. And if difficulty is equivalent to a denial, we should believe neither in mind nor matter.

Digitized by Google

As to the position, that, if God were good, evil would not exist — that is begging the question. The school-boy argues in the same way: If my father were good, and loved me, he would not refuse me the delight and happiness of going to sea, he would not subject me to the hard study and severe discipline of school. He would not compel me to work when I want to play; he would not inflict punishment when I do a wrong thing whith pleases me.

This is the child's reasoning; but we do not accept his argument, nor endorse his conclusions, and yet the evil and the suffering are real enough for him. But his father is good and loves him; *and the very evil he laments is proof of it.* At bottom it is not evil at all, but good; and the seeming to be evil is only for a time, and at manhood takes the form of real and lasting good. The temporary apparent gives place to the eternal actual.

The assertion, therefore, that if God were good, there would be nothing of what we call evil, is very unsafe. The reasoning is narrow and without discrimination, and the conclusion largely overlaps the premises.

The ways of God may not be as ours, nor his thoughts as ours; but with him there is no darkness at all, no evil, no change nor caprice. He is is like the sun, the centre of the universal system, snpporting, controlling, and blessing all. It may be day or night with us, but at the sun it is always day. Clouds may float in our atmosphere, and obscure the light for a season; but there are no clouds about the sun. That shines always, by day and night, visible or invisible—forever bright, forever beautiful, forever beneficent!

And not unfrequently we live long enough to see the sun shining through the mists of our ignorance, shining into the night of our unbelief, revealing the harmony of seeming discord, and the good there is in what we thought wholly and essentially evil. History teaches us many such lessons, as well as our own experience and observation. Our fathers of the revolutionary age, thought the oppressions of English power a great evil, as the Pilgrim Fathers before them thought the persecutions of the English church a great evil; but who of us that now sees our great Republic consecrated to civil and religious liberty, thinks any such thing? Who of us that does not see the way of God justified, and the transient and partial evil turned to permanent and universal good?

And the Rebellion of the Slave Power—what a sore grief it was to us when it broke out, and how was the evil ofi t increased when it

Digitized by Google

insolently flung to the breeze the black flag of its first great victory on the battle-field of Bull-run. "How can a just God suffer this?" cried Unbelief; "how can he give triumph to such wickedness and cruelty, and forget the wrongs and suffering of four millions of his enslaved children?" But God went steadily on his way, giving defeat, till at last out of our distresses and despair came the proclamation of Freedom, came the laggard justice so long refused to the slaves; and the millions who with early victory would have remained oppressed, are now freemen, and the vexed problem is solved for us. And so we have come to see that the Lord's ways are in the deep and his paths in the midst of the sea, and that

> "Blind Unbelief is sure to err,
> And scan his works in vain,—
> God is his own interpreter,
> And he will make it plain.

Take an example from individual life—that of Dr. Southwood Smith. The terrible suffering and death of a beloved wife, consequent upon the stupidity and blundering of the physician, and the agony of mind he endured, determined him to abandon his plan of life, and study medicine, that he might do something to meliorate the sufferings of others in like case. And the eminence to which he attained, discovers to us the science and skill which aided and blessed thousands of sufferers.

More than this, the terrible questionings and doubts of that day of trial and anguish, led him to long and patient inquiry into the existence and meaning of pain and evil in the providence of God, which resulted in the publication of his "Illustrations of the Divine Government," a book which has soothed the sorrows, removed the doubts, and fortified the faith of tens of thousands in England and America. And now that he and that cherished companion can look down from the realms of light, and see how their suffering and grief have been turned into blessings for so great a multitude, do they regret the sorrow and pain of their earthly life, or question the divine wisdom, or doubt that all evil is simply eternal good walking through the earth in temporary disguise?

So much a few years only reveal of the beneficence of seeming evil; how much more the coming eternities. How great and beautiful the light which Heaven will shed into the sorrows and moral mysteries of Earth. How then and there will all our doubts and unbeliefs shrink away into nothing before the blaze of Eternal Truth and Love.

Digitized by Google

Ballou's Treatise on the Atonement.

By the time this number of the Quarterly reaches our readers, the Publishing House will have sent out a new edition of Ballou's "Treatise on the Atonement." We welcome the book as one worthy, for many reasons, to be studied by the present generation in connection with the history of New England theology; in the reconstruction of which it has probably had a greater influence, though unacknowledged, than any other work of the century. Consider what it was to think out and write such a work on such a question at the time and under the circumstances — the condition and temper of the religious world, the surroundings of the author; with no education beyond what a common country school could furnish a hundred years ago; the absence of all external helps from libraries, lectures and literary and theological magazines; without one scholarly friend to whom he could turn for information or critical aid in his study of the Scriptures, and with no books of his own beside the Bible and the dictionary; single handed and alone, with scarcely a friend to bid him God-speed in his eager and conscientious search for truth — under all these discouragements this young man began a course of Biblical study and religio-philosophical inquiry which ended in the production of what, all the difficulties considered, may be truly characterized as a most remarkable work.

Whatever may be said of its exegesis in some cases, or of its supposed dogmatic teaching on certain points, the leading thought of the treatise is carried forward from beginning to end with a clearness and compactness of statement, a simplicity and fitness of illustration, and a transparent and unanswerable reasoning, which, if they have not produced conviction in every case, have surely shattered the foundations on which the old creeds rested for so many ages without fear of attack even. And we hesitate not to say that to the resistless logic of Ballou on the Atonement, and the philosophy of divine rewards and punishments as unfolded by him in this work, and repeated in a more or less modified form in the sermons and books of hundreds of preachers following his lead; and re-repeated from week to week and from month to month in all our religious papers and magazines, in public discussions and private conversations, is to be credited more than to any other one cause the present attitude of the Religious mind and heart of New England toward the crumbling creeds of the past. If Hosea Ballou had never lived, if the Treatise on the Atonement had never seen the light, the Andover imbroglio would

Digitized by Google

have been postponed for a half century or more, the Newman Smyth of to-day would not have been born, and Professors would be still swearing to "teach the doctrines of devils" instead of the divine mercies and sweet humanities of the Sermon on the Mount. As it is, however, the lurid glare and thunderous roar of wrath and damnation, which used to make the Orthodox pulpit the terror of nervous invalids, have mostly passed away, and the fiery furnace of *Gehenna* has been so cooled down, the sulphurous and putrid stenches so cleared away by the fresh breezes of Truth, and the whole climate of the place so improved, that some of our North Pole adventurers might look not unfavorably upon the prospect of a brief residence there; especially when they remember that they will meet there some of the best and most cultivated souls that have ever lived on earth.

Of course we do not wish to be understood as saying that the great revolt against the Orthodoxy of the past is due wholly to the teachings and writings of Hosea Ballou, but that these factors have largely contributed to it — nay, that it would not have come at all *now*, if it had not been for these. Doubtless the progress of Science and Philosophy, the growth of theological inquiry and study, the clear, strong thinking of hundreds of educated and uneducated men and women, the expansive force of Truth itself, the cultivation of the heart and the organization of the thousand helpful charities and humanitarian movements aiming to reform, elevate and save the fallen and sinful, the new civilization which has brought into daily intercourse people of all conditions, creeds and nationalities, and the consequent growth of the feeling of Human Brotherhood, the Unitarian movement, the writings of Channing, the stupidities of Orthodox controversialists, and other kindred influences, have all helped on the beneficial change, and added momentum to the revolution which is going on in the creeds, and sympathies and life of the churches. But after all, it is yet to be determined how far these owe their beginnings to the Universalism which took on such an aggressive form in the Treatise on the Atonement, and which spread out on all sides, organized and unorganized, denominational and undenominational; and which, long silent in the so-called Evangelical churches, is to-day beginning to speak out plainly, and to protest against the barbarisms of the old creeds and confessions, insisting, as at Andover, that, if the dead body cannot be gotten under ground, then it must be made alive with a new spirit, even the Spirit of Truth, the Comforter, the Helper and Saviour of men.

Digitized by Google

More and more as the theological atmosphere clears, and the historical facts are gathered up, men will come to see and appreciate the value of the work wrought by Hosea Ballou, and give him his true place among the great religious thinkers and leaders. If of any man, surely of him it may be said, that he "builded better than he knew." When a young man with no capital but a keen, clear intellect, an earnest heart longing for the truth, and a resolute will, he began the investigation which took shape in this book, he had no vision of its influence in the future, and little did he think to what extent it would aid in moulding the religious mind in after years. He wrought sincerely, reverently, in the love of God and man, and lo, thousands now call him *Father*.

At the outset it struck the key-note of Universalism and Unitarianism; the Unity and Fatherhood of God; Christ the Son and Saviour of the world. On these fundamental propositions, sustained alike by human reason and divine revelation, he planted himself as on eternal foundations. Of course at the time the book appeared, nine in every ten of those who opened it dissented from these doctrines as opposed to the teachings of the Bible, and the traditions of the Church. But, as they passed from page to page, and felt the force of the author's reasoning, and found text after text from the Bible arrayed in its support in the most natural and convincing way, while orthodox proof texts and objections were explained in language so simple and easy that a child could understand; and withal, finding how often their own reason responded affirmatively to that of the author, and their hearts justified the grand conclusions demonstrated equally by logic and Scripture, before they were well aware of it many of them had accepted these conclusions, and were substantially in accord with the theology of Universalism.

And now the God of Orthodoxy is no longer a stern sovereign merely, nor a relentless judge, but a Father, full of compassion, and ever ready to forgive His erring children. The divine laws are no longer the decrees of a capricious tyrant, but the expression of the wise and watchful love of a parent; and penalty is not revenge, but for correction and restoration to obedience and happiness. The atonement is no longer the infliction on the innocent Christ of the punishment due to a guilty world, but the commendation of God's love toward man, and the revelation of His purpose of redemption in Christ through faith and repentance. Sin is no more an infinite offence against God, but the wilful wickedness of a foolish and disobedient child, the evil and suffering of which must be endured until

Digitized by Google

the stubborn heart is subdued, and the prodigal says, in humble penitence, "I will arise and go to my Father." And, as we have said, to this welcome and Christian result the "Treatise on the Atonement," and the preaching and influence of Hosea Ballou, have been among the most important and effective contributions.

One other word before closing: Historical Unitarianism has shown, as it seems to us, an exceeding smallness in that it has never in all its records acknowledged the facts here set forth, nor in any way recognized the services of the work in hand in defending and aiding in the diffusion of their favorite doctrine. The Unitarian controversy began in 1815, but the first edition of The Atonement was published in 1805, ten years before; and ten years before this Mr. Ballou had been preaching Unitarianism; in other words twenty-four years before Dr. Channing preached his famous Baltimore sermon.

The book will be published in the usual neat and finished style of our Publishing House — beautiful in print, paper and binding. The Introduction is by Dr. Miner, who reviews some of the criticisms which have been made on the supposed theology of Mr. Ballou. Price only 75 cts.

1 *Cor. xv.* 51.

Since the article, "Critical and Exegetical Notes," was printed, the author has discovered another instance of false rendering of a passage so important that it ought to be exposed in connection with those already treated in that paper, which he does as follows:

"1 Corinthians xv. 51: *ἰδού, μυστήριον ὑμῖν λέγω. Πάντες (μὲν) οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ αλλαγησόμεθα.*" "Behold, I shew you a mystery: We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed" (in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, etc., v. 52). — *Com. Version.* The Rev. Version differs only in, "Behold, I *tell* you a mystery," etc.

"On the sentence, "We shall not all sleep," Barnes (*in loc.*) remarks: "*We Christians;* grouping together those who then lived and should live afterwards, for his discussion has relation to them all." As will be seen, the Common and Revised Versions are made to suit this view of the passage; "*We* shall not all sleep, but *we* shall all be changed"; that is, the believers. But by what right does the translator, as such, assume the office of the exegete, introducing into his translation words which have no place in the Greek text? The pronoun *we*, here, is not only supplied, but without any notice to the English readers that it is supplied, as will be seen from the Greek text of this passage already given. The subject of the two clauses is *πάντες*, "all," without any pronoun, thus: "*all* shall not sleep; but *all* shall

Digitized by Google

be changed" (in a moment, etc.) To be sure, at the close of the 52d verse the pronoun occurs: "and *we* shall be changed;" but what has this to do with the 51st verse? That which the apostle applies to *all*, πάντες, without limitation, these two versions limit to a particular class by the introduction of a word which has nothing corresponding to it in the Greek Text. The passage, then, properly rendered, is as follows: "Behold, I shew you a mystery. All shall not sleep, but all shall be changed."

The Syriac version has no pronoun, nor has the Vulgate; but Dr. Murdock introduces the pronoun in his rendering of the Syriac, corresponding with the two versions from the Greek text already cited. For ourself, we are unable to see on what grounds such treatment of the Inspired Word can be justified."

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. The Prophets in Israel, and their Place in History at the close of the Eighth Century B. C. By W. Robertson Smith, LL.D. D. Appleton & Co. $1.75.

This volume is in some respects a continuation of the previous volume on the Pentateuch, a farther application of the new criticism to the Biblical words. There is much in it worthy to be read by all, and no preacher who desires to know what is going on in this department of study can afford to ignore it. There are some things in it which will be stoutly challenged by conservative scholars, and accepted by others as an easy way out of textual and historical difficulties. Admitting the unproved assumption touching the two Isaiahs, he has certainly brought into order and intelligible relations portions of the confused mixture of things temporal and spiritual, present and future, local and universal, which make certain prophecies of the evangelical prophet so difficult of interpretation.

He helps us also to understand the relations of the prophets to the people by picturing to us their surroundings, and the social, political and religious condition of the nation, and of neighboring nations; and through these we get to see more clearly what meaning their words must have conveyed to their hearers. Of course in this he seeks to show that we put a sense of our own into them, which they were never intended to bear when originally uttered; as, for example, some of the Messianic prophecies.

Revelation, with Prof. Smith, is not a sudden outpouring of Truth once for all time, but a gradual unfolding of the Divine nature, will and purpose from age to age, from Adam to Christ. It has therefore "a history conformed to the laws of human nature, and limited by the universal rule that every permanent spiritual and moral relation must grow up by slow degrees, and obey a principle of internal development." Even Moses was not as well instructed regarding the nature of God as the true Christian worshipper of to-day. "The Hebrew doctrine of retribution is essentially a doctrine of retribution on earth," for "the religion of the Hebrews had to do with this life, not with the life to come." And yet he tells us that the Hebrew notions respecting the future life are "just the same as are found among other (heathen) nations," when it is notorious that the heathen religions had a great

Digitized by Google

deal to do with the future life, and abounded in fables and superstitions regarding future rewards and punishments, and that in the latter days of their nationality the Jews borrowed and incorporated these into their own beliefs.

In the early centuries the Jews did not look upon Jehovah as "the absolutely one God, but only as the one God of Israel," while other nations had their gods who were as real though not as powerful as Jehovah. Even the theocracy was not peculiar to the Jews, but "that feature in the religion of Israel which they had in common" with the heathen. Even the prophets do not agree in this matter. Hosea makes him *The God of Israel*, and his love to this one people as the essential truth of religion; while Amos declares Jehovah to be "the Creator and *God of the universe* who dispenses the lot of *all nations*, and vindicates the laws of righteousness over *all the earth*."

His views on quotations from the Old Testament in the New have some truth in them, for without doubt the New Testament writers applied some passages from the prophets to the events of their own day in an accommodated sense, without meaning to be understood as saying that they originally described these events. This we have attempted to show in a former article in this Review.

Whatever may be said of the new criticism in certain hands, Prof. Smith goes to his work in a reverent spirit, and, as it seems to us, with an honest desire to get at the simple truth, however he may sometimes miss it. He is not a mere destructive, but one who really seeks for sure foundations. He is not a safe guide, for his reviewers, some of them fully his equals in scholarship, have pointed out many damaging mistakes and misstatements, the results of haste and false exegesis and over confidence in *his* guides. Whoever reads him must not be in a hurry to accept his conclusions, but should be content to wait for more light.

2. Westminster Sermons: Sermons on Special Occasions preached in Westminster Abbey. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D. D., late Dean of Westminster. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

These sermons Dean Stanley seems to have left as a legacy to his friends, having been specially designated by him as those which he wished to be printed. They are classified as follows: "On the Abbey," "On Royal and National Events," "Funeral Sermons," and "Miscellaneous Subjects." They are excellent examples of the modern sermon; of the mingling of things temporal and spiritual, illustrating the manner in which the first suggest the last; in which passing events may be made to subserve the interests of religious culture, and impress the solemn and inspiring lessons of divine Providence upon the minds and hearts of the most worldly and careless. History, biography, science, philosophy, architecture, public calamities, seasons of rejoicing, war, travel, death, all are made to render in their tribute to the one great aim of the preacher, viz.: the strengthening of Christian faith and the cultivation of Christian virtues. Then again they show the spirit of the man; so gentle, and loving, and tolerant; so kind in rebuke, so charitable in judgment; and so reverent, devout, and earnest for truth, and so ready to every good work with men of all creeds and churches.

The "Dedication of Westminster Abbey," and others respecting the "Coronation of William the Conqueror and its Consequences," "The Altar," the "Religious Aspects of Sculpture," and the "Reasonable, Holy and Living Sacrifice," are rich alike in historic allusions, in lessons of heavenly wisdom, and in devout aspiration and prayer for more

Digitized by Google

spiritual living among his people; an end which he never loses sight of for a moment, whatever the theme of his discourse. "Christian Fraternity" and "Diversity in Unity," show how much larger than a church is the true Christian man; and every one who has followed the career and teachings of this noble preacher, knows very well that Dean Stanley could not shut up his fellowship, his generous sympathies, his love of man, his faith in human destiny, within the narrow limits of a national church, or the orthodox creed.

3. *American Statesmen.* Alexander Hamilton. By Henry Cabot Lodge. John C. Calhoun. By Dr. H. Von Holst. Houghton & Mifflin. $1.25 each.

Alexander Hamilton was one of the great men whom the American Revolution brought to the front, and made active and prominent in the world's affairs. It is impossible to know the story of that wonderful drama which established our nation as an independent power, without knowing the part which he took in it. It is impossible to know the story of the Constitution on which its prosperity, greatness and permanency have been built up, without knowing how largely that embodiment of political wisdom, wherein so many conflicting opinions and interests were united into one working force, was indebted to his creative and commanding genius. Let any one read chapter iv., and if, before he finishes it, his mind and heart are not all aglow with admiration for the brilliant orator, the profound statesman, the creator and savior of the Constitution, and with thankfulness to God that such men were raised up for our country in the crisis of its history, then we can only pity him.

As a member of Washington's Cabinet, Hamilton was the leading spirit in the troublous and difficult times immediately following the Revolution, and it is not too much to say that, without his counsel, his encyclopædic information on all political and government questions; without his organizing faculty, his tireless activity, and energy, his resistless power and wealth of argument, and his indomitable courage, the first President's administration, especially in its foreign policy, could not have been the success it was.

As Secretary of the Treasury his Reports on the Public Credit, on Manufactures, Banks, a Sinking Fund, Coinage, etc., are unequalled for their ability, and are the base on which those matters, substantially, are regulated to-day. And the famous "Federalist," of which he was chief author, is still a standard authority on political questions at home, and consulted by leading statesmen abroad.

This volume ought to be in the hands of every young man in the land who desires to know the early perils through which his country passed; and by what sort of men, by what sort of labor and study and sacrifice, it was saved, and finally raised to its present power and wealth and world-wide influence.

John C. Calhoun was also one of the most gifted and remarkable of our great men, but how different his use of his gifts compared with Hamilton. The last was the champion of liberty and humanity; the first was the incarnation of slavery and caste. Hamilton spent his strength in consolidating the Union, in building up a nation; Calhoun devoted all his powers to a work, however honestly wrought, whose political and logical outcome was disunion and civil war. More than any other one man, living or dead, he was responsible for all the horrors of the rebellion; and to his insane fanaticism, more than to any other cause save the Providence of God, is due the final ruin of the Slavocracy. "He builded better than he knew."

Digitized by Google

Dr. Von Holst has given us his political life and labors in a clear and impartial narrative, and in doing this has necessarily told the story of the rise and progress of the slavery conflict in Congress up to the time of Calhoun's death. Of this conflict the great Southerner was the central figure, the brain and the heart; and in his zeal and colossal efforts to save the doomed institution within the Union, he never faltered up to the last breath. In regard to some traits of his character, and the motives of his action, the reader, by the perusal of this biography, may be led to a more charitable judgment than is commonly awarded him.

4. Political Insiitutions: Being Part V. of the Principles of Sociology, By Herbert Spencer. D. Appleton & Co. $1.50.

The mass of historical facts gathered into these volumes of Mr. Spencer, and the reading necessary to obtain them, would be a marvel, if it were the work of one man. But the author does not attempt this. He distributes the labor of reading and extracting to others, and satisfies himself with classifying and working up the manifold threads thus collected into the various figures and designs of the vast web he is weaving. His plan is an immense one, embracing the entire fields of Biology, Psychology, Sociology, Morality, etc., involving work enough for a dozen lives. His philosophy assumes to be based on the sciences of observation and induction, representing the order and course of nature, bringing nature and man, life, mind and society under one great law of action, thus developing a method of thought which may serve for practical guidance in dealing with the affairs of life.

The present volume on Political Institutions, and its predecessor on Ceremonial Institutions, are packed with information equally curious and valuable. His deductions from the facts do not seem to us always admissible; and sometimes they are inconsistent with his philosophy of evolution, especially when the same moral condition is predicated of savage and civilized races. Then, too, he confounds religion with the conduct of its unfaithful professors. And in this connection he has some stinging rebukes for the brutality and savagery of the English government in its treatment of the Boers, the Zulus, and West African Negroes, which may be read in the Notes on pages 239, 640–642.

We recommend the careful reading of this volume, in connection with Part I., without endorsing its special theory. All the educating facts here given, gathered into a retentive memory, are the equivalent of a year's collegiate course of study in Political Economy; or more properly, in the history of the Political Institutions, Laws, Property, and the Militant and Industrial Types of Society.

5. National Religions and Universal Religions. By A. Kuenen, LL. D., Professor of Theology at Leiden. The Hibbert Lecture, 1882. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.50.

The religions which the author reviews are Islam or the religion of Mohammed, Buddhism, Judaism, and Christianity. His treatment of the various questions involved in the discussion shows ample learning, familiarity with the latest literature of the subject, and a minute and critical study of the Biblical records, specially the historical and prophetical books of the Jewish Scriptures.

He shows that Islam by its origin, and the character of its teachings, was fitted only for a people like the Arabs, to whom it was originally delivered, and for whom it was intended by its founder, who aimed by it to bring his countrymen back from their "accursed" idolatries to the

Digitized by Google

religion of their forefathers, to the worship of Allah, the one God; or, as Mohammed himself asserted, to "the religion of Abraham," the father of Ishmael, and therefore the ancestor of the Arabs. He tells us that Islam far more than most other religions is the product, not of the time nor of the people, but of the personality of the founder. At the same time he says that his preaching was determined both in matter and in form by Judaism, to which we may trace the main features of his eschatology! "Indeed, his whole mission was really a copy of the past revelation to the Jewish people, to which the sacred books bore witness!"

But Dr. Kuenen declares that Islam is stereotyped, and by virtue of its origin, spirit, methods and doctrines, is a national religion only, and that to it "true universalism is unattainable."

Christianity is the second of the religions which he examines, and he introduces the subject by a critical inquiry concerning the "Popular Religion of Israel," and the "Priests and Prophets of *Yahweh*," followed in the next chapter by "Universalism of the Prophets," and the "Establishment of Judaism." We have not room for details. It is enough to say that he practically distributes his argument into three parts: 1. The early religion of Israel, or the national worship of *Yahweh*, a foolish affectation of learning substituting this name for the popular English terms, "The Lord" and "Jehovah." 2. Judaism, the establishment of which he credits to Ezra, Nehemiah and the Priesthood, after the return from the Captivity, B. C. 458, and which they declare to be the realization of the "New Covenant" that God promised to make with the house of Israel and of Judah; of which Jeremiah and Isaiah had prophesied in such glowing terms. even in the midst of their calamities and when God destroyed them as a nation. 3. Christianity which was the necessary outcome of Judaism, and of the universalism of the prophets, who had prepared the way for it by predicting that all the ends of the earth should finally turn unto *Yahweh*, and all nations of the heathen should acknowledge him and worship before him.

It is impossible to present all the details of his argument, but the purpose of Dr. Kuenen is to show how there grew up out of Judaism a world-religion, viz.: Christianity. His position is that by the law of evolution Judaism had been brought by the prophets, and the influence of events, to a point of development where Christ, and Christianity as a universal religion, had become a necessity. The way had been prepared, the time had arrived, the prophet *must* appear according to the law of evolution which governs growth in religions as in all things else. The age was ripe for him and demanded him. If Jesus Christ had not come, then some other prophet would have risen up in his place. Jesus and his religion are the product of all the previous ages of Jewish training, education and growth. There is nothing flippant or offensive in his statement of his conclusions. He speaks with profound respect of the person, teaching and influence of Christ; but then he is a Reformer only, like those already mentioned, save that his religion is not national, but universal, not for one people, but for all peoples.

Prof. Kuenen conclusively proves that Christianity is not Essenism in a slightly different dress; that its universalism is not of Paul, but of Christ; that it is not borrowed from Buddhism. On this point he says,

"Buddhism had not the smallest direct influence on the origin of Christianity: and the coincidence with certain traits in the life of Cakya-Muni *cannot* by any possibility be more than accidental." "In a word, however attractive the hypothesis that brings Jesus into connection with the Buddhists may possibly appear, and however readily it may lend itself to romantic treatment, yet sober and strict historical research gives it no support, and indeed condemns it.

Digitized by Google

6. Life of Edwin H. Chapin, D. D. By Sumner Ellis, D. D.

Two things will attract attention to this volume — the subject of the biography, and the writer of it.

Dr. Chapin is too well known in our country to require any special presentation of his merits as a thinker and a pulpit orator, in order to induce the public to read this record; but of his boyhood, of his early drift and tendencies, of the circumstances which determined his choice of a profession, of his reading and studies preparatory to his entrance on the ministry; of his peculiarities of temperament, the striking contrasts of wit and humor with profound reverence and fervent piety; of his inner spiritual life, of his intellectual life, and home life, and varied experiences in all that goes to make up character, the world knows comparatively nothing. But all these things are written down in this biography, and to the great mass of Dr. Chapin's friends, and to some even of those most intimate with him, will come with many a pleasant surprise, and reveal to them a wealth of greatness and sweetness which they had never fully estimated.

The author of this biography, Rev. Dr. Ellis, is also so well known among us for his ability, his classic and finished style, that we need only speak of the conscientious fidelity with which he has done his work. It is not a book of scraps and newspaper notices of the man as an eloquent divine and a popular platform lecturer, but a careful and discriminating presentation of the character, life and labors of our honored and beloved friend. And so we see Dr. Chapin as he was from the beginning to the end of his career.

The book is a perfect beauty in its mechanical make-up, and reflects credit upon the taste of the publishing Agent. Our people will count it in every way worthy of the man of whom it is a loving memorial.

THE QUARTERLY FOR 1883.

It gives us great pleasure to announce to our readers that the Directors of the Publishing House have decided to reduce the price of the Quarterly for 1883 from three to *two dollars*. This they do in the just expectation that the increase of the subscription list will partly, if not fully, cancel the loss of income resulting from the reduction. This generous action on the part of the Board should be appreciated all the more by our people, clergy and laity, for the reason that the Quarterly has always been published at a loss. But the Directors have a just pride in the increasing scholarship and value of our publications, and are desirous that they should have a wider circulation among those within and without our denominational ranks.

Our Quarterly furnishes a medium through which our best thinkers, our most diligent students, and our ablest critics can communicate to our own people, and to the religious public, the fruitful results of their inquiries and investigations in Biblical literature and

Digitized by Google

criticism, philosophy, science and archæology. And it is only due to our contributors to say that some of their articles have not only been of great service to our preachers, but have attracted the attention of Biblical and ecclesiastical students beyond our communion, received honorable mention by the journals and quarterlies of all denominations at home, and brought honors to the writers from abroad.

For these reasons, as stated, and in order to extend the reputation and usefulness of the QUARTERLY, the price of the next volume is put at two dollars; and both publishers and editor unite in an urgent call upon preachers and people to show their interest in the work it is doing, by aiding all they can in increasing its circulation. There is not a single minister among us who does not need in his studies the information and help which every number of the QUARTERLY will furnish him; information and help which he can get from no other source. There is not a single minister among us, however small his salary or limited his means, who cannot afford two dollars for a publication which in one year will be worth to him ten fold that amount in time and labor, in the ripe fruits of original Biblical and theological investigation and criticism, in helpful suggestions, in the opening of new lines of thought and inquiry, and in the knowledge of new books which discuss the multitudinous questions of modern thought and study. In view of these facts, we make a direct appeal to

1. *Preachers.* Subscribe to the QUARTERLY for the year 1883, and if you do not find all that we have said above true; if you do not receive far more than you give, then drop it at the end of the volume; or what is better, continue it that our Church may have a Quarterly worthy to rank with those of other denominations. Furthermore, *write for it*, with the understanding that if your contributions are valuable they will be paid for.

2. *Parishes.* Give it place in your parish or Sunday school library; especially if your pastor and teachers do not take it. In a short time the quality and interest of the sermon, and the fresh and attractive features of the Sunday school teaching, will amply reward and justify your action.

3. *Laymen.* Our thanks are due to you for the generous support already given to the QUARTERLY. But for you it would have been suspended years ago. Continue your aid, and increase it by soliciting some business friend to give his name as a subscriber; or by sending it, as several of you have done, to some preacher whose scant purse is not equal to his wishes and his needs.

Digitized by Google

1883 *PARTICULAR NOTICE.* *1883*

THE UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY

FOR 1883.

PRICE REDUCED FROM

$3.00

to $2.00.

In order to largely increase the circulation of this valuable periodical, it will be published for the year 1883 *at the very low price of two dollars.* This is done with the just expectation that the increase of the subscription list will partly, if not fully, cancel the loss of income.

THOMAS B. THAYER, D.D.,

who has been Editor for many years, will continue his work, and contributions will be secured from some of the ablest writers in the Universalist Church.

☞ For full particulars in relation to this change of price, read the article on page 511 of this number of THE QUARTERLY.

AN OFFER.—All new parties whose names are not now on our subscription list, who send us $2.00 in advance for the year 1883, will receive the number for October, 1882, without charge.

UNIVERSALIST PUBLISHING HOUSE,

PUBLISHERS.

Digitized by Google

NEW BOOKS.

READY IN OCTOBER.

LIFE

OF

EDWIN H. CHAPIN, D. D.

BY

SUMNER ELLIS, D. D.

List of Illustrations:

Portrait.
Church at New York.
Portrait.
Cottage at Pigeon Cove.
Fac-similes of Handwriting.

☞ **Price and other particulars will be given hereafter.**

NEARLY READY.

WALKS ABOUT ZION.

BY I. M. ATWOOD, D. D.

READY FOR THE HOLIDAYS.

FIFTY NOTABLE YEARS.

BY JOHN G. ADAMS, D.D.

It will include Biographies of many

UNIVERSALIST CLERGYMEN

And FIFTEEN FINE STEEL PLATE PORTRAITS.

UNIVERSALIST PUBLISHING HOUSE,

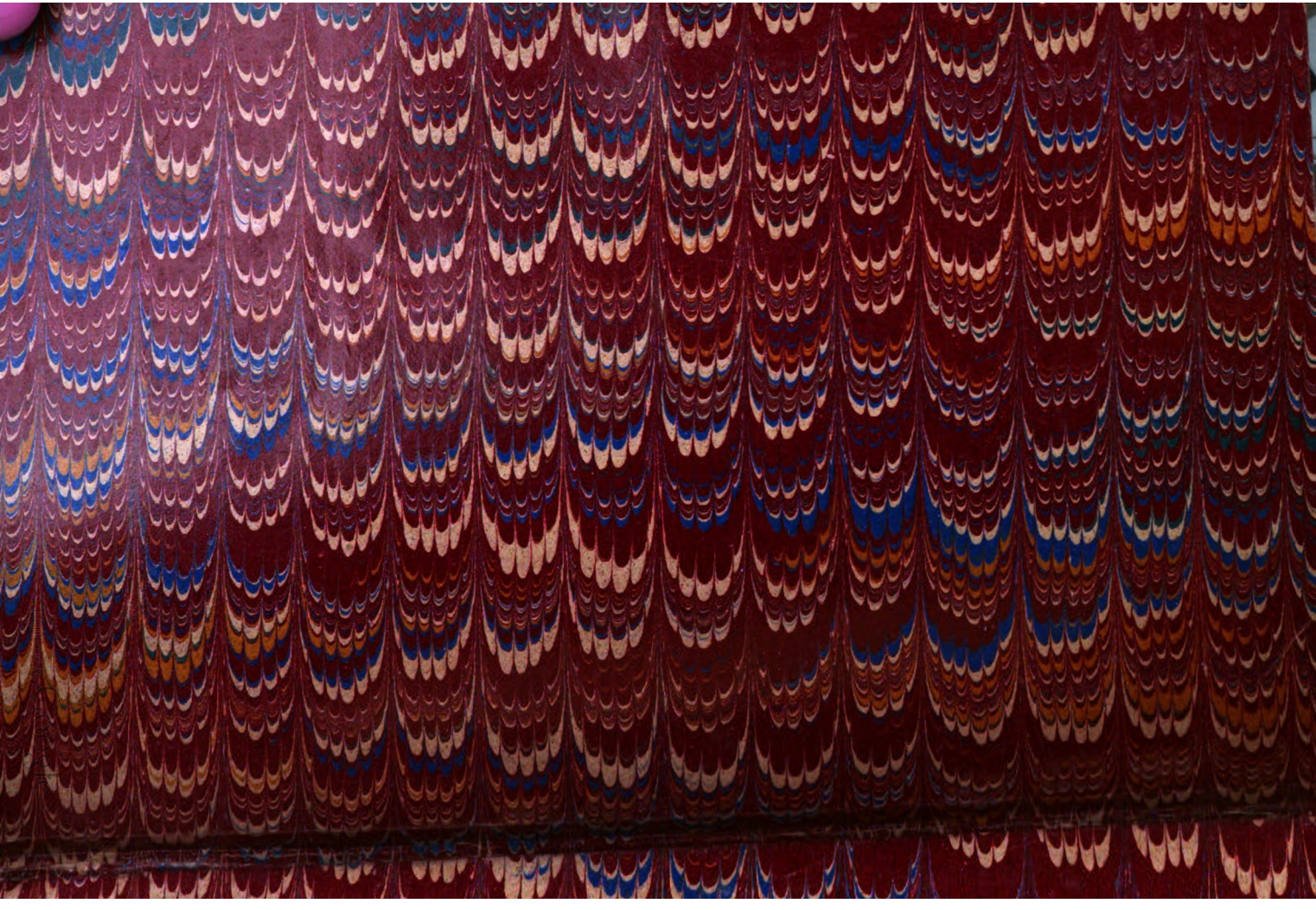
PUBLISHERS.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google



NOV 23 1888
FEB 23 188
MAR 11 1890
MAR 19 1890
APR 5 1897
MAR 17 1904

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google